

LIFE
OF
BISHOP HELI
VOL. II



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L I F E
OF
REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

VOL. II.

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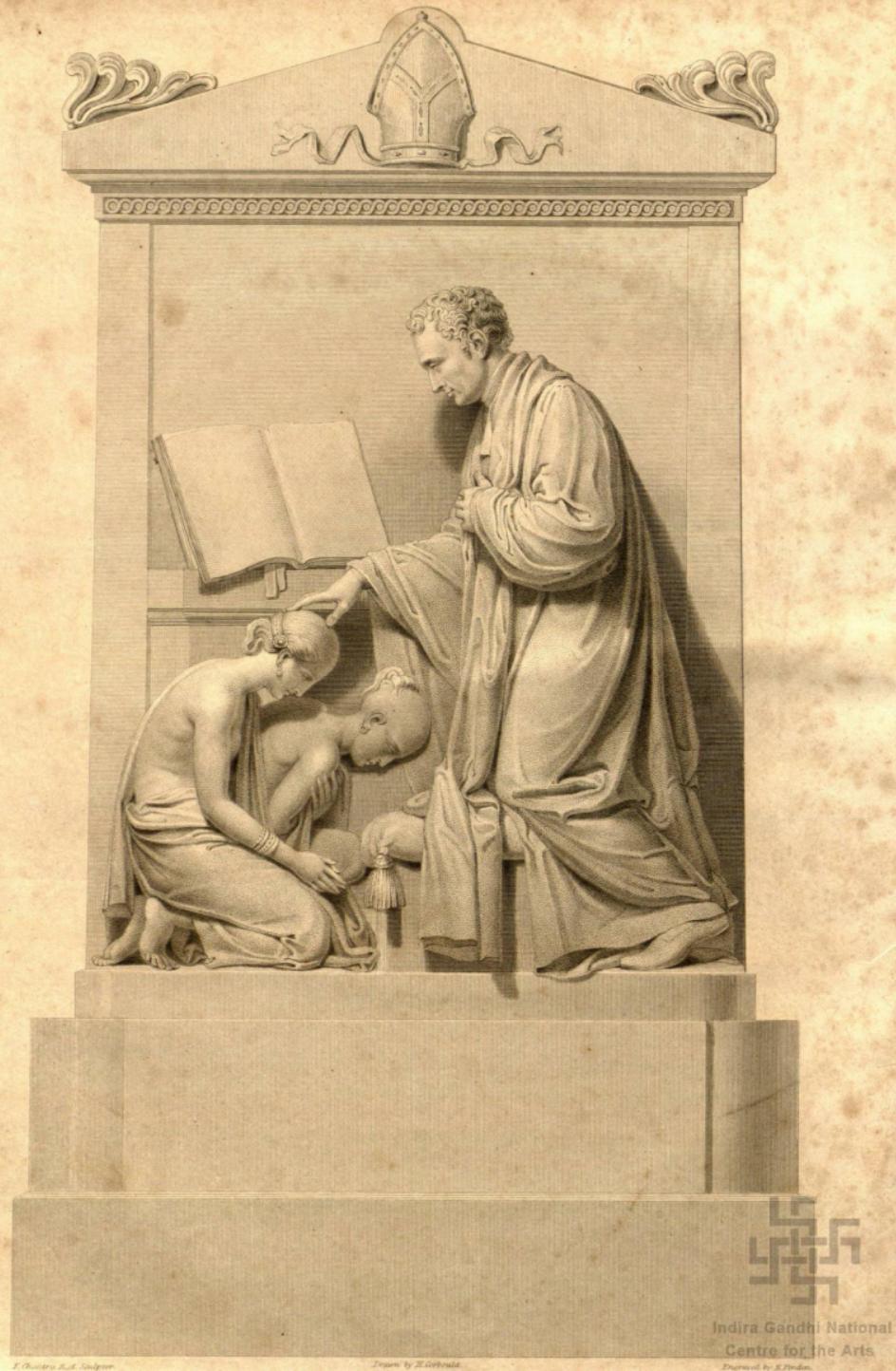
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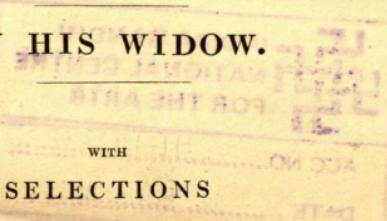




THE
L I F E
OF
REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

BY HIS WIDOW.



CORRESPONDENCE, UNPUBLISHED POEMS, AND PRIVATE PAPERS;

TOGETHER WITH

A JOURNAL OF HIS TOUR

IN

NORWAY, SWEDEN, RUSSIA, HUNGARY AND GERMANY,

AND

A HISTORY OF THE COSSAKS.

IN TWO VOLUMES,
VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

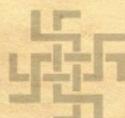
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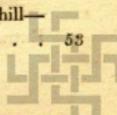
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L I F E

OF

R E G I N A L D H E B E R.

CHAPTER XVIII.

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In the spring of 1820, a putrid sore-throat raged with great violence in the town and neighbourhood of Hodnet, to which several persons fell victims. Mr. Reginald Heber was daily to be seen in those cottages where the disorder was most prevalent, carrying himself the nourishment or medicine necessary for the sufferers, and never allowing the fear of infection to deter him from this path of duty. When remonstrated with on the great risk he was running, he would answer, that he “was as much in God's keeping in the sick man's chamber, as in his own,” and strove to inspire in those around him the same implicit trust in His Fatherly care, which governed his own conduct. For many weeks he was mercifully preserved from harm; but at length, after visiting the inmates of the work-house, where, from its crowded state, the infection was the greatest, he caught the disorder, and was for some hours in considerable danger. The malignity of the complaint was such, that it spread through his household, seven members of which were attacked at the same time; but, through the goodness of God, they all recovered.

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XVIII.
1820.



Among the many virtues with which this true Christian was endowed, his humility, and the singular tenderness of his conscience, were, perhaps, the most remarkable. Scrupulous and active in the discharge of all his duties, whether religious or moral, and peculiarly blessed in temper and disposition, he was always on his guard against the infirmities of human nature. He felt that, without constant prayer to God for the help of His Holy Spirit, his own unassisted endeavours after righteousness were but vain ; and his private manual of devotions—a manual too sacred to meet the public eye—contains the most humble petitions for forgiveness of the past, and for grace to enable him to walk in newness of life. In his book of memoranda, on Good-Friday in this year, he writes : “ Preached and administered the Sacrament. I have resolved this day, by God’s help, to be more diligent in prayer ; to rise earlier ; to be more industrious in my studies ; to keep a more watchful guard on my temper ; to be more diligent in my parochial duties. God help and strengthen me !”

“ He had a conscientious regard for the property of others, especially of the poor. One day when he was riding with the editor near a cottage, he saw some cows trespassing in the garden ; he got off his horse to tell the owner of the mischief they were doing, but found the cottage empty ; on which he drove the cows out some distance up the lane, and then made up the fence to prevent their return.

On his next birth-day he thus expresses himself : “ *Oh uti-nam annorum pæteritorum vitia, stultitiam, mollitatem, ignaviam exhinc abjicerem ! Libera me, bone Deus, ab omni peccato ! e laqueis diaboli animum expedi ! meque tuum fac, tibique deditum per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*”

To the Rev. J. Oxlee.

Hodnet Rectory, Jan. 3, 1820.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I owe you many apologies for not having answered your first obliging letter, and acknowledged, at the same time, the

receipt of the very able and very learned sermon which accompanied it. The truth is that, at the time of its arriving at Hodnet, I was myself from home, as I have been the greater part of the last year, under peculiar circumstances of family distress, from the death of my only child, and the subsequent lingering illness of my wife. This, for a long time, prevented my attending to any literary subject; and when I was more capable of appreciating (as, believe me, I have appreciated highly) the merits of your able examination of a subject obscure in itself, and rendered more obscure by the unfairness of our enemies, and the timidity of our friends, I deferred writing to you, in the expectation of being able soon to accompany my letter with a present of the same kind, though of far inferior learning and research to yours, in an ordination sermon, which I preached during the autumn before the Bishop of Chester, and which will, I hope, be soon in a state to send to you. I can, however, no longer delay to thank you for your repeated kindness to me, and to assure you, that I look forward with real impatience to the appearance of the second volume of your work on the Trinity and Incarnation.

“ You, my dear Sir, have chosen a severe and thankless line of study, which, as few ordinary scholars care to grapple with to any extent, has been most unjustly depreciated by the vain and trifling part of the literary world. It is, indeed, remarkable, that England is, of all Protestant countries, that where the importance and riches of Hebrew literature are least known. But I cannot help hoping that the tide may be turned, though it has set so long in one direction; and I shall sincerely rejoice to see your labours take the place in public estimation, to which their soundness, good sense, and originality, in my opinion, entitle them.

“ Your’s most truly,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”



To R. W. Hay, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 25, 1820.

"MY DEAR HAY,

"It seems so long since I have heard from you, that though I have no news to tell, and nothing to say which is worth the bore of a letter to a man who receives and is obliged to answer so many as you are, I cannot help writing to ask how you have escaped from this marvellous sickly season, in which the weather seems to have conspired with Mr. Thistlewood to put honest men in danger. You have probably heard of the severe campaign of blistering, bleeding, and all the other 'ings' in the *materia medica* in which I have myself been engaged, and which eventually involved my whole family, from the mistress of the house to the kitchen-maid, in the same active operations.

* * * * *

" You will have been sorry to see that ——
— has been disappointed at Wenlock. Since, however, he was to lose, I am glad that Childe has succeeded, to whom it has been some time an object of ambition.

* * * * *

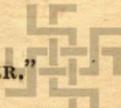
" I have, you are perhaps aware, engaged to write a life of Jeremy Taylor, for an edition of his works which Duncan and Co. are preparing. I do not dislike the sort of work, but labour under a lamentable want of materials. I am also engaged in finishing an article on Rennell's 'Illustration of the Anabasis.' It is a very heavy subject, and I am sorry I undertook it; but having advanced so far, it would be absurd to give in.

* * * * *

" I received, about a month ago, a favourable account of Thornton from Rome.

" Your's most truly,

" REGINALD HEBER."



To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, May 26, 1820.

"I think you have laid more stress on the failure of your speech in seconding the motion of thanks than the case calls for. I read it as it was reported, and thought it read well both in point of language and matter, whatever may have been the expediency of introducing disputable questions into such a composition. But it is, I apprehend, no new thing in Israel for a man who speaks well on other occasions, to fail in that kind of laudatory oratory which your party, in this instance, assigned to you. Man is, by nature, rather a vituperative than a complimentary animal; the language of satire and censure has a far greater *copia verborum* than that of praise; and this is so generally felt, that of all the speeches delivered in parliament, those for the motion and secondment of addresses are, I think, least read and least noticed by the public. On such a subject, even if you had spoken like an angel, few would have given you any great credit for it; and if you have, as you apprehend, done ill, such a single instance of failure will be effaced by the next good or even tolerable speech you make.

"I am sorry you have not had time to finish your article for the Quarterly. I have some weeks since sent them up one, and am now deeply engaged in another. The first was on a very fine poem of Milman's, 'The Fall of Jerusalem'¹, which, as being almost exclusively laudatory, I found difficult, and did not well satisfy myself. My present theme is Southey's life of Wesley²,—a theme much more copious, and one which interests me a good deal. How I shall succeed in it, I do not yet know; it is no easy matter to give Wesley his due praise, at the same time that I am to distinguish all that was blameable in his conduct and doctrines; and it is a very difficult matter indeed to write on such a subject at all without offending one or both of the two fiercest and foolishest

¹ The Fall of Jerusalem, &c. By the Rev. H. H. Milman. Quarterly Review, 1820.

² The Life of Wesley. By Robert Southey, Esq. Quarterly Review, 1821.



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1820.

parties that ever divided a Church—the High Churchmen and the Evangelicals.

“ I am not sure whether I mentioned in my last letter that we hope soon to have the pleasure of meeting you and yours in town. Except seeing you and Thornton, after having been so long absent, there is no circumstance in London which I look forward to with greater pleasure than meeting the party at Grillon's.

“ My materials for the life of Jeremy Taylor come in but slowly. John Talbot has very good-naturedly taken great pains to collect any facts or traditions which might be preserved in Ireland, but, as yet, with little success. It is whimsical how many persons lay claim to be descended from Taylor, and how many of these have, at different times, professed to have in their possession materials for his biography. Some of these seem anxious to involve themselves and their intentions in mystery, while others appear to have little which was not already known to the public. I have had a curious and characteristic letter from Coleridge, of whom I had asked some information, and who promises me a sight of some notes which he has at different times written on Taylor. Whatever he has written bids fair to be abundantly eloquent and learned, and I have, of course, accepted his offer with gratitude.

“ Wilson ‘ of the palms and plague,’ is standing for a professorship of history at Edinburgh. It was reported that Sir James Mackintosh was to be his rival; but Wilson, in a letter to me, makes no mention of this, nor does my brother, who would, I should think, have been likely to notice it.”

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, August 14, 1820.

“ When do you and Mrs. Wilmot come into the country? and when will you let us see you here? This house, which was when you saw it sadly too naked, has now really got a very decent fringe of trees and shrubs. Whether I am to look to sit under their shade much longer, must depend, I suppose, not merely on

the term of my natural life, but on the duration of the present order of things which, I fear, is still more precarious. In the event of a revolution, however, it is some comfort to think that one is to be ruined in good company, and that, if the revenues of the Church are to be wiped out, a sponge may also, probably, be applied to funded property.

* * * * *

“ Amid all these fears, here as elsewhere, we go on pretty merrily ; though the bow meetings, which last year were the chief glory of the neighbourhood, are much crippled, and cut off to a smaller number by the late season in town and the call of the House of Lords.

“ I have had from Ireland a very curious and interesting packet of details concerning Jeremy Taylor, such as his having married a natural daughter of Charles the First’s, and other particulars not previously known. Other original papers of his are said to be at Donnington (Lord Hastings’.) His absence is unfortunate ; but I have applied to the descendants of Taylor, by whom these papers were placed there in deposit, to authorize me to request a sight of them from the agent, whoever he may be. Can you give me any information or assistance on this point ? It is one of considerable importance to me in the small quantity of information which I have been able to collect about my hero.”

Mr. Reginald Heber sometimes promoted by his pen the harmless merriment of the meetings mentioned in the last letter. From the songs which he wrote for this purpose, the following is selected, for its imagery and historical allusions. It was sung at Harwarden Castle, in Flintshire, the seat of Sir Stephen Glynne, Bart. :—



BOW MEETING SONG.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1820.

By yon castle wall, 'mid the breezes of morning,
 The genius of Cambria stray'd pensive and slow ;
 The oak-wreath was wither'd her tresses adorning,
 And the wind through its leaves sigh'd its murmur of woe.
 She gaz'd on her mountains with filial devotion,
 She gaz'd on her Dee as he roll'd to the ocean,—
 And, " Cambria ! poor Cambria !" she cried with emotion,
 " Thou yet hast thy country, thy harp, and thy bow !"

" Sweep on, thou proud stream, with thy billows all hoary ;
 As proudly my warriors have rush'd on the foe ;
 But feeble and faint is the sound of their glory,
 For time, like thy tide, has its ebb and its flow.
 Ev'n now, while I watch thee, thy beauties are fading ;
 The sands and the shallows thy course are invading ;
 Where the sail swept the surges the sea-bird is wading ;
 And thus hath it fared with the land of the bow !

" Smile, smile ye dear hills, 'mid your woods and your flowers,
 Whose heather lies dark in the morn's dewy glow !
 A time must await you of tempest and showers,
 An autumn of mist, and a winter of snow !
 For me, though the whirlwind has shiver'd and cleft me,
 Of wealth and of empire the stranger bereft me,
 Yet Saxon,—proud Saxon,—thy fury has left me
 Worth, valour, and beauty, the harp and the bow !

" Ye towers, on whose rampire, all ruin'd and riven,
 The wall-flower and woodbine so lavishly blow ;
 I have seen when your banner waved broad to the Heaven,
 And kings found your faith a defence from the foe ;
 Oh loyal in grief, and in danger unshaken,
 For ages still true, though for ages forsaken,
 Yet, Cambria, thy heart may to gladness awaken,
 Since thy monarch has smil'd on the harp and the bow !"

Before leaving Hodnet for a short time this summer, Mr. Reginald Heber writes, "preparing to leave home. *O sancte Deus, adesto itineri, libera me ab omni peccato, et da servo tuo incoludem faustumque redditum per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.*"

During this absence he attended the commemoration at

Oxford, when he had the gratification of hearing “ Palestine” performed as an oratorio in the same theatre, where, seventeen years before, he had recited it to an equally, or perhaps, a more crowded audience than was then assembled. To the eye the scene was the same, but its component parts were widely different. Of the relations who were present at the former period, some had paid the debt of nature; the greater number of his contemporaries were scattered abroad in the pursuit of their respective professions; new faces occupied the arena. Yet there were those present who had witnessed and shared in the early triumphs of his genius, who now partook in the deep feeling with which the editor listened to lines which she could never read without emotion, now dressed in a garb which gave them additional beauties. Those seventeen years had passed over her husband’s head, save with two or three bitter exceptions, in tranquillity and happiness. The few that he was thenceforth destined to live, bore, in many respects, a different character; but though not of tranquillity, they were far from being to him years of sorrow. A life so passed can never be productive of real unhappiness, however chequered by the common lot of mankind. On his return home the following prayer was written in his diary:—“ *Gratias ago tibi, Pater caelestis, qui custos fuisti in itinere nostro, curam abhinc solitam nobis, precor, extende, meque ob omnia tua beneficia gratum effice per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.*”

The following miscellaneous poems were written at different periods of Mr. Reginald Heber’s life, but being unconnected with any particular event they may be introduced here. They were composed in the midst of a circle of friends, and are selected from among many of the same nature to show, not only his talent for extempore versification, and the inexhaustible stores of his mind, but the remarkable facility with which the same genius that had in the morning grappled with high and abstruse subjects, could enliven the evening fire-side with the grace and playfulness of its poetic effusions.



CHAP.
XVIII.
1820.

ON CROSSING THE RANGE OF HIGH LAND BETWEEN STONE AND
MARKET DRAYTON, JAN. 4, 1820.

Dread inmate of the northern zone !
And hast thou left thine ancient throne
On Zembla's hills of snow,
Thine arrowy sleet and icy shower
On us, unbroken to thy power,
With reckless hand to throw ?

Enough for us thy milder sway,
The yellow mist, the shorten'd day,
The sun of fainter glow ;
The frost which scarce our verdure felt,
And rarely seen, and but to melt,
The wreath of transient snow.

I met thee once by Volga's tide,
Nor fear'd thy terrors to abide
On Valdaï's sullen brow ;
But little thought on English down
Thy darkest wrath and fiercest frown
So soon again to know.

Oh for my *schube's* accustomed fold,
Which then, in ample bear-skin roll'd,
Defied thy dread career !
Oh for the cap of sable warm,
Which guarded then from pinching harm
My nose, and cheek, and ear !

Mine old kibitka, where art thou ?
Gloves, boots, peketch,—I need ye now,—
Sold to a Lemberg Jew !
In single vest, on Ashley heath,
My shrinking heart is cold as death,
And fingers ghastly blue !



BALLAD.

1.

“ Oh, captain of the Moorish hold,
 Unbar thy gates to me,
 And I will give thee gems and gold,
 To set Fernando free.
 For I a sacred oath have plight
 A pilgrim to remain,
 Till I return with Lara’s knight,
 The noblest knight of Spain.”

2.

“ Fond Christian youth,” the captain said,
 “ Thy suit is soon denied,
 Fernando loves a Moorish maid,
 And will with us abide.
 Renouned is every Christian rite,
 The turban he hath ta’en,
 And Lara thus hath lost her knight,
 The boldest knight of Spain.”

3.

Pale, marble pale, the pilgrim turned
 A cold and deadly dye;
 Then in his cheeks the blushes burned,
 And anger in his eye.
 (From forth his cowl a ringlet bright
 Fell down of golden grain,)“ Base Moor! to slander Lara’s knight,
 The boldest knight of Spain!

4.

“ Go, look on Lugo’s gory field!
 Go look on Tayo’s tide!
 Can ye forget the red-cross shield,
 That all your host defied?
 Alhama’s warriors turned to flight,
 Granada’s sultan slain,
 Attest the worth of Lara’s knight,
 The boldest knight of Spain!”



BALLAD.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1820.

5.

“ By Allah, yea !” with eyes of fire
 The lordly paynim said,
 “ Granada’s sultan was my sire,
 Who fell by Lara’s blade ;
 And tho’ thy gold were forty fold
 The ransom were but vain
 To purchase back thy Christian knight,
 The boldest knight of Spain.”

6.

“ Ah, Moor ! the life that once is shed
 No vengeance can repay,
 And who can number up the dead
 That fall in battle fray ?
 Thyself in many a manly fight
 Hast many a father slain ;
 Then rage not thus ’gainst Lara’s knight,
 The boldest knight of Spain.”

7.

“ And who art thou, whose pilgrim vest
 Thy beauties ill may shroud ;
 The locks of gold, the heaving breast,
 A moon beneath a cloud ?—
 Wilt thou our Moorish creed recite,
 And here with me remain ?
 He may depart,—that captive knight,
 The conquer’d knight of Spain.”

8.

“ Ah, speak not so !” with voice of woe,
 The shuddering stranger cried ;
 “ Another creed I may not know,
 Nor live another’s bride !
 Fernando’s wife may yield her life,
 But not her honour stain,
 To loose the bonds of Lara’s knight,
 The noblest knight of Spain !”



9.

“ And know’st thou, then, how hard a doom
 Thy husband yet may bear ?
 The fetter’d limbs, the living tomb,
 The damp and noisome air ?
 In lonely cave, and void of light,
 To drag a helpless chain,
 Thy pride condemns the Christian knight,
 The prop and pride of Spain !”

10.

“ Oh that within that dungeon’s gloom
 His sorrows I might share,
 And cheer him in that living tomb,
 With love, and hope, and prayer !
 But still the faith I once have plighted
 Unbroken must remain,
 And God will help the captive knight,
 And plead the cause of Spain !”

11.

“ And deem’st thou from the Moorish hold
 In safety to retire,
 Whose locks outshine Arabia’s gold,
 Whose eyes the diamond’s fire ?”
 She drew a poniard small and bright,
 And spake in calm disdain,
 “ *He taught me how, my Christian knight,*
 To guard the faith of Spain !”

12.

The drawbridge falls ! with loud alarm
 The clashing portals fly !
 She bar’d her breast, she rais’d her arms,
 And knelt, in act to die !
 But ah, the thrill of wild delight
 That shot through every vein !
 He stood before her,—Lara’s knight,
 The noblest knight of Spain !



SYMPATHY.

A knight and a lady once met in a grove,
While each was in quest of a fugitive love ;
A river ran mournfully murmuring by,
And they wept in its waters for sympathy.

“ Oh, never was knight such a sorrow that bore !”
“ Oh, never was maid so deserted before !”
“ From life and its woes let us instantly fly,
And jump in together for company !”

They searched for an eddy that suited the deed,
But here was a bramble, and there was a weed ;
“ How tiresome it is !” said the fair with a sigh ;
So they sat down to rest them in company.

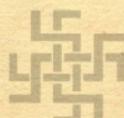
They gaz'd on each other, the maid and the knight ;
How fair was her form, and how goodly his height ;
“ One mournful embrace !” sobb'd the youth, “ ere we die !”
So kissing and crying kept company.

“ Oh, had I but lov'd such an angel as you !”
“ Oh, had but my swain been a quarter as true !”
“ To miss such perfection how blinded was I !”
Sure now they were excellent company !

At length spoke the lass, 'twixt a smile and a tear,
“ The weather is cold for a watery bier ;
When summer returns we may easily die,
'Till then let us sorrow in company.”

It has been observed in a former part of this memoir, that Mr. Reginald Heber seldom heard a tune played which struck his fancy, without adopting to it words of his own writing. To a march composed in imitation of a military band he wrote

I see them on their winding way,
Above their ranks the moon-beams play,
And nearer yet, and yet more near,
The martial chorus strikes the ear.



They're lost and gone,—the moon is past,
The wood's dark shade is o'er them cast,
And fainter, fainter, fainter still,
The dim march warbles up the hill.

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Again, again,—the pealing drum,
The clashing horn—they come ! they come !
And lofty deeds and daring high,
Blend with their notes of victory.

Forth, forth, and meet them on their way,
The trampling hoof brooks no delay ;
The thrilling fife, the pealing drum,
How late—but oh ! how lov'd they come !

A stanza¹ in the Orlando Innamorato of Boiardo, which the editor read aloud one evening, suggested to her husband the following lines.

THE WELL OF OBLIVION.

There is, they say, a secret well,
In Ardenne's forest grey,
Whose waters boast a numbing spell,
That memory must obey.

Who tastes the rill so cool and calm
In passion's wild distress,
Their breasts imbibe the sullen balm
Of deep forgetfulness.

And many a maid has sought the grove,
And bow'd beside the wave ;
But few have borne to lose the love
That wore them to the grave.

¹ Ell' era tutta d'oro lavorata
E d'alabastro, candido e pulito,
E così bel, che chi dentro vi quata
Vi vedi il prato e fior tutto scolpito.
Dicon che da Merlin fu fabbricata
Per Tristan, che d' Isotta era invaghito,
Accioch' ivi bevendo, si scordasse
L'amor di quella donna, e la lasciasse.



“ THE ORACLE.”

No ! by these tears, whose ceaseless smart
 My reason chides in vain ;
 By all the secret of a heart
 That never told its pain ;

By all the walks that once were dear,
 Beneath the green-wood bough ;
 By all the songs that sooth'd his ear
 Who will not listen now ;

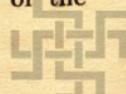
By every dream of hope gone bye
 That haunts my slumber yet,—
 A love-sick heart may long to die,
 But never to forget !

THE ORACLE.

Imitated from the Greek.

To Phœbus' shrine three youths of fame,
 A wrestler, boxer, racer came,
 And begg'd the Delphic god to say,
 Which from the next Olympic game
 Should bear the envied wreath away ?
 And thus the Oracle decided.—
 “ Be victors all brave youths, this day,
 Each in your several arts !—provided
 That none outstrip the racers' feet,
 None at his trade the boxer beat,
 None in the dust the wrestler lay !”

The conversation which is described in the following humourous letter, actually took place in a large town in ——. As soon as Mr. Reginald Heber returned home he related it to the editor, and it was immediately written down in the form of a letter, nearly in the same words in which he told it, with the addition of the preface.



To ——.

Grub Street, April 1, 1820.

" MY DEAR ——,

" * * * * *

There is yet another hospital for minor wits, which, in wideness of circulation, falls only short of the Quarterly Review; in elegance of exterior, surpasses the most splendid album; and which, from its judicious mixture of useful information, elegant literature, and blank paper nicely ruled, is the peculiar favourite, the chosen companion, the faithful confidante, and depository of secrets for the young, the fair, and the tender-hearted.

" Alas, my dear—I fear you have been so ill educated that you do not at once perceive that I allude to 'Gledge's Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas and Almanack,' a work which has the distinguished merit of gathering up the smallest possible sparkles of human intellect; which affords a twelve-month's immortality to many whose names would otherwise have never been repeated out of their own families; which offers to our notice scenes from *popular* novels unknown to any review; prints of *villas*, to which the nearest ale-house-keeper could hardly show the way; *fashions* which she who follows does it at her own peril; and poetry which Milton himself would have found it necessary to imitate, if Milton had sought the applause of milliners and young apprentices.

" Let it not, however, be supposed that there is no distinction of rank in Gledge's paradise, or that the higher distinctions are not here, as elsewhere, the exclusive inheritance of talent and of toil. To carve a snuff-box requires, indeed, less genius than to produce a Laocoön or a Farnese Hercules. But even in snuff-boxes there is a great difference; and much diligent study, and many sleepless nights are requisite before we can hope to receive a prize pocket-book for the best charade, and to produce a logogram on which our fame may rest in profound security.

" So, at least, I am assured by a young acquaintance who over-



took me some time ago in the streets of a great mercantile city, where he had a few years previous been placed by his parents with an eminent conveyancer. I had known him before as a youth of very pleasing manners and exterior; of good temper; of lively talents; and, at least, as well informed as the majority of lads who pass from the school to the counting-house. I was, therefore, not surprised that, while pressing me to dine with him, he enforced his request by the offer of introducing me to some very agreeable literary characters, with whom he had been so fortunate as to form an intimacy. I felt, however, I knew not why, something like a cold shudder when he further informed me, that these able and amiable young men were in the habit of meeting in an evening to read their own works to each other. But, as I was able to plead a previous engagement, I went on to enquire with some interest, and much personal tranquillity, into the nature of those studies to which his friends were chiefly addicted, and of the compositions which were thus produced for the common advantage of the society. 'Oh, Sir!' was his reply, 'we are all, like yourself, zealous votaries of the muses. Many of us have repeatedly obtained the prize for charades and riddles; I have myself made so much progress as to have written three letters in verse to my parents,—and, you will perhaps think me vain—but I am now just engaged in a logogram, which even Mudge himself assures me will be very tolerable.'

" 'Mr. Mudge,' I said, 'is, I presume, the most formidable critic of your society.' 'Oh, Sir, he is all in all with us. He is, indeed, a man of extraordinary talents, who has been, for some time, the main support of the 'Royal Engagement and Pocket Atlas,' and whose contributions, under his assumed name of *Asphodel*, have been solicited with propitiatory presents by half the stationers in the kingdom. Poor Mudge,' he continued, 'he is, indeed an enthusiast in logograms! It was only last week that, after a restless night employed in intense meditation, a heavy slumber fell on him, from which he awoke under the strangest circumstances imaginable. His pulse beat high; his skin was feverish; a word, of which he felt, as it were, the weight, seemed bursting from his

soul, and a conviction flashed on his mind that this word contained the elements of the most extraordinary logogram in the English language. He sprang from his bed—he thrust his head through the window. Immediately a stream of words extractable from this one rushed on his memory, and he has already made out a list of five hundred and seventy-six, without one obsolete among them !

“ When I had recovered from the whimsical contrast which this logogrammatic *Berserksgangr* presented to the parallel exploit of Coleridge, who wrote his *Kubla-Khan* under the effects of opium, I enquired if this prolific ‘Mater Lectionis’ was a very long one ? ‘ Only four syllables,’ he answered with a smile ; ‘ but, perhaps, Sir, if you are not much in the habit of composing logograms, you can hardly conceive how many words a single well-chosen noun may be coaxed into. For instance, how many are there in steam-boat ? ’ ‘ Two,’ I rashly made reply,—‘ steam and boat.’ ‘ Aha ! ’ said he with a laugh of good-natured superiority, ‘ have I caught you ! —Are there not to be framed out of these letters, beast and boast, and toast and oats, and beam and meat ? ’ ‘ Oh spare me,’ interrupted I, ‘ you have perfectly convinced me ! ’ ‘ I thought so ! —And do you know that this is my own logogram, and that I have already gotten eighty-six words, and hope to find more ! ’

“ ‘ This,’ said I, ‘ is indeed vastly clever and curious ; but what (I speak ignorantly) has it to do with poetry ? ’ ‘ Surely, Sir,’ was the reply, ‘ you do not think that Gledge would admit into his pocket-book any thing which was not in verse ? No, believe me ; we are obliged not only to describe our original word enigmatically and poetically, but to give each of its dependent terms in a separate couplet, and under the like mask of a riddle. Let me tell you it is no easy matter to give a figurative and allegorical account of eighty-six words successively.’ I here lifted up my hands and eyes, which action my young companion observed, and continued, ‘ It would indeed, as you may think, be impossible without long practice ; but my friend Mudge, who is far above any paltry jealousy, has put it in my power to make a progress beyond any of the club, by revealing to me the secrets of his own emi-

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nence, and procuring for me Bysche's art of poetry and complete rhyming dictionary. Of course, *you* are well acquainted with the work,—but those who have not seen it would be quite astonished to find how easy it is, with such a guide, to write poetry.' 'Has Mr. Mudge,' I enquired, 'favoured his friends with any poetry of a different description from logograms?' 'Has he not?' was the reply, 'I should like to repeat to you his "weeping window," and his "answer to an invitation to a strawberry feast."

"We had, by this time, arrived at the point where we were to separate, but the temptation was too strong to resist; I turned down his street, and became his willing auditor, endeavouring, at the same time, with all my power, to commit the precious morsels to memory. The first, unhappily, in a great measure escaped me, and I can only remember that a window-glass, on a rainy day, was called 'the amorous *pane* of a despairing lover.' In my report of the second I can answer for my own accuracy, though I must despair of doing justice to the luminous comments with which my friendly reciter accompanied them.

"'He begins,' said he, 'as you will observe, in a playful style,'

Friend Higginson, I've understood
That strawberries are wholesome food,
And see no cause to doubt it;
For many pottles I have swallow'd,
And no bad consequence has follow'd,
Then why say aught about it?

('Why indeed?' said I.—'Oh, Sir,' said he impatiently, 'observe the invocation which follows!')

Hail strawberry! thou fruit divine
In any other shape than wine,—

('Strawberry wine, you know, is but nasty stuff.')

With Branker's patent suavity!

('Branker, you will observe, sells patent sugar,')



Such parties do I daily see
 At Phœbe Brown's, by aid of thee
 Who dissipate their gravity.

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(‘ Phœbe Brown sells strawberries.—Now comes the apology,’)

But, Higginson, upon my soul,
 Though much I love the spoon and bowl,
 I can't go with you now.
 Such an engagement have I fix'd,
 My hope is vain of strawberries mix'd
 With extract of the cow !

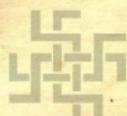
‘ Extract of the cow ! ha ! ha ! ha !—meaning cream ! ha ! ha !—
 but you are in a hurry ! Good morning ! Let me see you if you
 come into this neighbourhood again !—Extract of the cow !
 There's for you !’

“ To this extract I shall only add that I am,

“ Dear * * *,”
 “ Your's most truly,

* * * *

“ Extract of the cow ! ha ! ha ! ha !—meaning cream ! ha ! ha !—
 but you are in a hurry ! Good morning ! Let me see you if you
 come into this neighbourhood again !—Extract of the cow !
 There's for you !’



Proposed publication of Mr. Reginald Heber's hymns—Letters from the Bishop of London—Dean of St. Asaph's illness—Translation from the "Boston" of Sadi—Catholic question—Birth of Mr. Reginald Heber's second child—Hymns by the Rev. H. H. Milman—"Sicilian Vespers"—Manchester riots—Oxford university election—Death of Dr. Hodson.

CHAPTER XIX.

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THE collection of hymns on which Mr. Reginald Heber had long been occasionally engaged, was now far advanced. He was anxious to secure the Bishop of London's (Dr. Howley) approbation of the work, and his advice on the propriety of endeavouring to obtain the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Manners Sutton) for its general use in Churches. With these views he wrote the annexed letter. The bishop, although he did not consider his scheme as, at that time, advisable, yet took a kind interest in the success of the collection itself, and suggested some valuable hints on the construction of some of the hymns submitted to him, which were received with great deference by the author. As the approbation of so eminent a scholar and divine was very gratifying to her husband, and is honourable to his memory, the editor feels grateful for the permission given her to publish a short extract from the answer to his application, as well as from a letter of a later date, which, however, will be introduced with more propriety in this place.



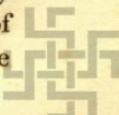
*To the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop
of London.*

Hodnet Rectory, October 4, 1820.

“ **MY LORD,**

“ I had so frequent experience of your kindness during your residence in Oxford, that I cannot help hoping that you will excuse the trouble which I am now going to give you in requesting your advice, and, possibly, your assistance, on a subject in which I feel much interested. And I am the more anxious to recur to you, not only on account of your very accurate and extensive knowledge of Church discipline and ecclesiastical antiquity, but because the great age and infirmity of my own diocesan, the Bishop of Lichfield, make it improper to plague him with any business not absolutely necessary.

“ I have for several years back been from time to time, and during the intervals of more serious study, engaged in forming a collection of hymns for the different Sundays in the year, as well as for the principal festivals and Saints' days, connected, for the most part, with the history or doctrine contained in the Gospel for each day. I began this work with the intention of using it in my own Church, a liberty which, I need not tell your Lordship, has been, for many years back, pretty generally taken by the clergy, and which, if custom alone were to be our guide, would seem already sufficiently authorised. Thus the morning and evening hymn of Bishop Kenn, are, in country parishes, almost universally used. Hardly a collection is made for charitable purposes without a hymn for the occasion. Of the anthems used in our Cathedrals, many are taken from other sources than either the Scripture or the Liturgy. And, even in sacred oratories, such songs as ‘ Angels ever bright and fair,’ &c. may be considered as admissions of the right to introduce into places of worship compositions not regularly authorized by the rubric. But the most remarkable instance of the kind, which I have met with, was during the installation of the



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Duke of Gloucester at Cambridge, when, during Divine Service, in the University Church, and in the presence of her Reverend and Right Reverend heads, I heard a poem sung in the style of Darwin, in which the passion-flower was described as a virgin, devoting herself to religion, attended by as many youths as the plant has stamina.

“ I might, then, perhaps, without troubling your Lordship, have been content to transgress the rubric in so good company, and have taken the same licence with my neighbours, had I not, in looking over the popular collection from which I wished to glean for my own, been much shocked and scandalized at many things which I found, and which are detestable, not in taste only, but, to the highest degree, in doctrine and sentiment. The famous couplet,

‘ Come ragged and guilty,
Come loathsome and bare,’—

is far more tolerable than many which I could instance ; and, I own, I began to dislike a liberty, however conceded or assumed, which had been abused so shamefully. Many of my friends, indeed, quote such passages as a sufficient reason for excluding from the Church service all but the authorized versions of Psalms. But thus to argue from the abuse of hymns against their decent and orderly use, does not seem very accurate logic, and there are many reasons why I should regret passing so severe a sentence on all for the faults of some.

“ 1st. The fondness of the lower classes for these compositions is well known. Every clergyman finds that, if he does not furnish his singers with hymns, they are continually favouring him with some of their own selection ; their use has been always the principal engine of popularity with the dissenters, and with those who are called the ‘ Evangelical ’ party ; and I have found, in conversing with the lower classes, that they really do not understand or appreciate the prophetic allusions of the Psalms of David, and require, besides the glorious moral and devotional lessons which

these last contain, something more directly applicable to Christ, the Trinity, and the different holydays which the Christian Church observes. And it may, therefore, be thought unwise to surrender to the service of our enemies a means which is, in their hands, so powerful in attracting the multitude, and of which we ourselves might make so good a use. Nor can it be replied that this would prove too much, and operate in favour, even of those abominations which I have just reprobated, and which are supposed to be, many of them, but too popular with the lower orders.

" The taste of the lower orders is, in this respect, often underrated. Their love of devotional poetry is ardent, and they, therefore, take whatever comes in their way ; while those who have catered for them, have not been very scrupulous as to the nature of the aliment which they procured. But that they can taste the good as well as the bad is plain from the universal popularity of the two beautiful hymns for morning and evening by Bishop Kenn, which are more generally sung by a cottage fire-side than any other compositions with which I am acquainted. It might seem, then, no difficult matter to accustom them to a better style of poetry than that with which they are now satisfied.

" 2dly. The whole stream of precedent in the Christian Church, from the remotest antiquity, authorises and encourages the use of hymns as well as of the Psalms of David. The hymn which Pliny mentions as sung, '*Christo quasi Deo*,' can hardly have been a Psalm. Socrates Hist. vi. § 8. speaks of St. Ignatius as the inventor, Των αντιφωνων ὑμινων την ἀγιαν Τριάδα ὑμνοντων. It is not, indeed, clear whether the use of hymns generally, or of the alternate way of chanting them is here intended. But, be this as it may, it appears that hymns were used in the Church of Antioch on the authority of Ignatius. Tertullian Apol. § 39. says, '*Post aquam mannalem et lumina, ut quisque de S. S. vel DE PROPRIO INGENIO potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere.*' And we have still the words of the *hymnus lucernalis*, which was most frequently used on these occasions. Hilary is mentioned by Jerome (Cat.



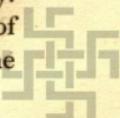
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Script. Op. T. i. p. 192.) as author of a book of hymns. So at least the Latin runs; but in the Greek of Jerome's work, nothing of the sort is mentioned. But that Hilary did compose such a book, is plain from a decree of the fourth council of Toledo, Can. 13. (Delectus Actorum T. i. p. 494.) 'De non renuendo pronuntiare hymnos,' in which the hymns are specified 'quos beatissimi Doctores HILARIUS et Ambrosius ediderunt.' I do not know whether any of the hymns now in the Romish breviary are the work of Hilary. That very many of them have been retained there ever since the time of St. Ambrose, there is no reason for doubting. The religious poetry of this latter Father is collected at the end of the folio edition of his works, and, with one exception, (that of the 'Vexilla Regis prodeunt,) appears to be genuine. The breviary contains also three hymns of Prudentius, one of which is very beautiful, for Innocents' day, and some by later writers. The number altogether is, I should think, twenty or thirty, containing hymns for every day in the week, &c. I have laid no stress on Synesius, because I do not know that his hymns were sung publicly. The Greek Church, however, has followed the same line of conduct with the Latin. The liturgies too of the Lutheran Churches all abound with compositions of the same kind, so that if such aids to devotion were refused by the English Church, she would act in opposition to the great body of Christians in all ages.

" There is, indeed, a canon of the council of Laodicea, which has been often quoted, and which forbids the use *ιδιωτικῶν ὕμνων*. But this, according to the natural meaning of the word *ιδιωτης*, can only mean hymns brought in by *private persons*, without the permission or authority of the bishop. At all events, I have the council of Toledo to set against that of Laodicea; and it is perfectly certain that if the prohibition just mentioned *were* meant to apply to all hymns of human composition, that prohibition was never enforced either in the eastern or western Churches.

" 3dly. The compilers of our liturgy appear to have been by no means unfavourable to the use of hymns. Besides the 'Bene-

dicite' and the '*Te Deum*,' they have given us the '*Veni Creator*' in the Ordination Service. And at the end of the old version of the Psalms are several hymns 'A Prayer to the Holy Ghost,' 'The humble suit of a Sinner,' &c. And we are therefore, I conceive, warranted to infer that they would have favourably received any decent hymns for the holydays, &c. if not as regular and necessary parts of the Service, yet with the same permission which they have given to anthems, and to the works of Sternhold and his coadjutors. And the licence afterwards given to the version of the Psalms by Tate and Brady, seems to prove that there has always been a disposition on the part of our rulers to accommodate their laws in such matters to the taste and temper of the age. The evil indeed, if it be one, of the admission of hymns into our Churches has, by this time, spread so widely, and any attempt to suppress it entirely would be so unpopular, and attended with so much difficulty, that I cannot help thinking it would be wiser, as well as more practicable, to *regulate* the liberty thus assumed, instead of authoritatively taking it away. Nor can I conceive any method by which this object might be better obtained than by the publication of a selection which should, at least, have the praise of excluding whatever was improper in diction or sentiment; and might be on this, if on no other ground, thought not unworthy a licence of the same kind as that which was given to the Psalms of Tate and Brady. I have the vanity to think that even my own compositions are not inferior in poetical merit to those of Tate; and my collection will contain some from our older poets, which it would be mockery to speak of in the same breath with his. There are a few also which I have extracted from the popular collections usually circulated, which, though I have not been able to learn their authors, possess considerable merit and much popularity, and are entirely free from objectionable expressions. Nor am I without hope, if encouraged by your Lordship to proceed, of obtaining the powerful assistance of my friends Scott and Southey. By far the greater part, however, of my present collection are of my own making, a circumstance which, I trust, will not expose me



to the imputation of vanity, when the difficulty is considered of finding unexceptionable words suitable to the plan which I have adopted. I have given the names of the authors from whose works I have extracted any hymns. My own I have marked with my initials. But my collection is yet in MS. and has still some *lacunæ* to fill up.

“ Under these circumstances, my Lord, I feel I am taking a great liberty, but one for which I hope I shall be pardoned, in requesting to know whether you think it possible or advisable for me to obtain the same kind of permission for the use of my hymns in Churches which was given to Tate ? and if so, what is the channel through which I should apply ? Or if, from the mediocrity of my work, or for any other reason, this would be improper or unattainable, whether I may conscientiously assume the same liberty that many of my neighbours do, and have a few copies printed, not for publication, but for the use of my own Church ? This I should, on some accounts, prefer, so far as I am myself concerned, to the more ambitious project, inasmuch as I am well aware that no great renown is to be expected by the publisher of religious poetry ; but I am really doubtful as to the propriety of the measure ; or whether the long connivance of our superiors can fairly be construed into a *tacit permission* to introduce unauthorized compositions into the public worship. On all these points, then, I earnestly request your Lordship's advice, by which, I beg you to believe, I shall be implicitly guided. I cannot venture to trouble you to inspect my whole MS. but you will be in some measure enabled to form your opinion of it by the following hymns, being the first in my collection. Should you not be unfavourable to my plan of publishing, I should esteem most highly the advantage of your criticism, and would thankfully conform to whatever improvement you might suggest either of addition, omission, or alteration. I ought to mention that most of my hymns are applicable to the psalm tunes in common use. The few which vary from this rule are adapted to different ancient melodies of approved composers. Should publication be thought advisable, whatever profit may arise beyond the

payment of expenses, would be applied to the benefit of our national school at Hodnet.

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“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship's most obliged

and obedient humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

From the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.

October, 1820.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

* * * “ At present our time is so much engrossed with business infinitely less pleasant than hymns of prayer or praise, that I can hardly do more than acknowledge the receipt of your very sensible remarks, accompanied by hymns of no ordinary merit. I will write to you more at large when I can give full attention to this very interesting subject, and have the opportunity of consulting others. The first impression on my mind is, that things are hardly yet ripe for obtaining the sanction of authority at present, and that publication in the common way would have the effect of making the compositions known, and obtaining that general approbation which might prepare the way for further measures. But I would be understood not to give this as a mature opinion, wishing to have time for fuller consideration. I have read the hymns marked R. H. with great pleasure; and from the feeling which they excite in my mind (having no other direction for my judgement of poetry,) am led to think them very good. To some single expressions I might perhaps object. The language is simple—as in this sort of poetry it ought to be, and generally pure, which I think equally essential; free from that poetical common-place which destroys the effect of poetry, especially sacred, and dilutes the strength of the thoughts in vague generalities of expression.

* * * * * * * * *

“ I remain, my dear Sir,

“ With great truth and sincerity, your's,

“ W. LONDON.”



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From the Right Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London.

June 20, 1821.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ * * * * Your devotional poetry has often recurred to my mind. Our national literature is defective in that branch, and I shall rejoice to see the want supplied by writers like you and Mr. Milman. On consideration, I am not of opinion that any publication of this nature, however well executed, will obtain sanction from authority; and I am not sure whether such a measure ought to *precede* the general approbation of the public. Perhaps it will be impossible to suit every taste; it may be doubtful whether the common people will have any relish for ornamented poetry. The sublimity of Milton on sacred subjects, has, I believe, few admirers among the illiterate. The common poetical forms which the paucity of rhymes makes necessary in our language, are almost inconsistent with the genius of Hebrew poetry, which seems in a great measure to derive its effects from the small number of words it employs, and the incorporation of the particles, prepositions and pronouns, with the nouns and verbs. Hence arise a simplicity and rapidity which give the ideas in full force, and *immediate* succession to the mind. * * * You will judge of the propriety of my observations, and will see the inferences I should draw from them. It is, however, far from my intention to discourage you. You have no reason to be frightened by difficulties, and I am persuaded, that whatever you may think proper to publish, will both deserve and obtain applause.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir, with great regard,

“ Your's truly,

“ W. LONDON.”



To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Bodryddan, October 23, 1820.

“ I adopted the measure which you suggested as soon as I reached home, and wrote to Hay on the subject of lithography. I had, the other day, an answer, written with his usual kindness and good-nature, but not encouraging me to have recourse to this method of multiplying copies of my poems. * * *

* * * * *

“ The Dean has rallied wonderfully, nor could any body take him for a man of seventy-five, who had so recently recovered from such an attack. He preached yesterday in the cathedral of St. Asaph, a long and eloquent sermon on the occasion of his own illness and recovery, and of the spiritual improvement to be derived from either witnessing or experiencing such visitations, with as strong and clear a voice as usual, and proving, as I thought, that his illness had, in no respect, produced the same effects on him as on the archbishop in *Gil Blas*. His life is most valuable, not only to his own family, but to all this neighbourhood, where his kindness to the poor and his tenants, and his activity as a magistrate, have been, for many years, great and unremitting.

“ Hornby has sent me his poem on ‘ Childhood’ to look over. I have not yet paid much attention to it, but think what I have seen very pretty, and likely to be popular. The chief danger seems to be his bringing religion too prominently and too technically forward. His views of religion, however, are all, as they ought to be, consoling and amiable.

“ Your obliged friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”



*To the Rev. H. H. Milman.**Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 5, 1820.***“DEAR MILMAN,**

“I have been for some years back employing a part of my leisure, of which, indeed, I have no great quantity, in making a collection of hymns, adapted to the different Sundays and Saints' days in the year, and connected, in a greater or less degree, with the subject of the Gospel appointed for each day. Most are, as yet, of my own composition, though I have taken some pains to select the best out of the different popular Hymn-books which have already appeared, and though Scott and Southey have given me some hopes of their powerful aid. My wish is to get them licensed to be used in Churches in the same manner as Tate and Brady's version of the Psalms; and I communicated my plan, with a sample of what I had already done, some time ago, to the Bishop of London, who spoke favourably of those which I sent him, and encouraged me to proceed. Under these circumstances, am I trespassing too much on your good-nature in requesting your assistance and contribution to the collection? I know with what facility you write poetry, and all the world knows with what success you write religious poetry. I really think, if the undertaking prospers, it may be the means of rendering good service to the Church, and to the cause of rational piety, by taking place of the vile trash, vile in sentiment and theology, as well as style, which prevails more or less in all the collections which I have seen; at the same time that experience shows us that the common people require something more *obviously* appropriate to Christian feelings than the Psalms of David alone, and that the hymns of the dissenters, objectionable as they many of them are, are a powerful engine of popularity, which draws several from the Church who are very well content with her in other respects. I subjoin a specimen of what I have done, that you may understand my plan more perfectly, and be aware of the sort of company in which your verses, if you

favour me with any, will appear. I send a list of the Sundays for which I have as yet no appropriate hymns; but I should be happy to admit any composition of yours for such other days as may suit you, for several of which I have more than one; or on miscellaneous subjects, of which last kind I have a good many, which I mean to print in an appendix.

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“ I am glad to hear, from Augustus Hare, that you have some thoughts of standing for the poetry professorship. I need hardly say that I shall sincerely rejoice in your success, both for your own sake and for that of the university; and should you meet with opposition, which I can hardly suppose, you may reckon on my vote, and best efforts in your favour.

“ Believe me, dear Milman,

“ Very truly yours,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

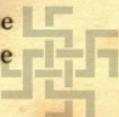
“ If, as you once gave me some reason to hope, and as I still flatter myself is not unlikely, you can give us a few days at Hodnet during this winter or spring, I should like to show you the rest of my collection, and should be glad to enjoy the advantage of your suggestions and criticisms.”

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 16, 1820.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ The information which you have kindly sent me respecting Jeremy Taylor’s election and residence at All Souls is very satisfactory, and, to the writer of his life, important. It proves, I think, that both the college and the visitor were well disposed to favour his pretensions; but that the former, not being able to reconcile them with the spirit and intention of their statutes, chose rather to allow the fellowship to lapse, than either to disoblige the



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archbishop, or go the whole length which he wished them. I agree with your Lordship that it may be desirable, in mentioning the circumstance, to pass it over without any very lengthened note or comment; but, as it is just possible that the rights of the college might be compromised by saying either too much or too little, I shall be greatly obliged if you will permit me to show you that passage in my book before it goes to the press, which, by-the-bye, will not be for several months, in order that I may be sure that I have stated the transaction correctly and distinctly. I feel quite ashamed of occasioning any further trouble either to your Lordship or Cartwright, to whom may I beg you to offer my best thanks for his kindness; but as I cannot, in any part of this neighbourhood, find a copy of Pope Nicholas's valuation of livings, I should be much obliged to him if he would, at his leisure, ascertain from this source, whether Uppingham was tenable with a fellowship. By the king's books, as given in Ecton, it is not, being above 20*l.* It would also be desirable, in pursuance of the suggestion contained in the memoranda which your Lordship has transmitted to me, to ascertain at what time Taylor's name was entered on the books of University College.

“ Heneage Legge has conferred a most essential obligation on the undertakers of the new edition of Taylor, by helping us to our hero's likeness. I hope the engraving will be executed in a manner not unworthy of his pencil.

“ Believe me, my dear Lord,

“ Sincerely your obliged and obedient humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To the Rev. J. Oxlee.

Hodnet Rectory, Feb. 26, 1821.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ You are almost the only person of my acquaintance likely to help me in a question of considerable difficulty and interest, relating to the life of Jeremy Taylor, in which I am

now engaged. I mean the source from whence he derived the beautiful parable of Abraham and the worshipper of fire, whom he drove from his tent for refusing to bless Jehovah, which concludes the 'Liberty of Prophesying,' and which Franklin afterwards, without acknowledgement, worked up, with some slight alterations, into his celebrated parable on persecution¹. Taylor,

¹ Mr. Reginald Heber was, subsequently, indebted to Lord Teignmouth for the information which he here requires.

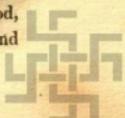
Translation of a story from the Bostan of Sadi.

"I have heard that, once during a whole week no traveller came to the hospitable dwelling of the friend of God, whose amiable nature led him to observe it as a rule, not to eat in the morning, unless some needy person arrived from a journey. He went out, and turned his eyes towards every place. He viewed the valley on all sides, and beheld in the desert a solitary man resembling the willow, whose head and beard were whitened with the snow of age. To encourage him, he called him friend, and, agreeably to the manners of the munificent, gave him an invitation, saying, 'Oh Apple of mine eye, perform an act of courtesy by becoming my guest!' He assented, arose, and stepped forward readily; for he knew the disposition of his host, on whom be peace. The associates of Abraham's hospitable dwelling seated the old man with respect. The table was ordered to be spread, and the company placed themselves around. When the assembly began to utter in the name of God, (or to say grace,) and not a word was heard to proceed from the old man, Abraham addressed him in such terms as these: 'Oh elder, stricken in years, thou appearest not to me in faith and zeal like other aged ones; for is it not an obligatory law to invoke, at the time of eating your daily bread, that divine Providence from whence it is derived?' He replied, 'I practise no rite which I have not heard from my priest, who worshippeth fire.' The good-omened prophet discovered this vitiated old man to be a Gueber; and finding him an alien to the faith, drove him away in miserable plight: the polluted being ejected by those that are pure. A voice from the glorious and omnipotent God was heard, with this severe reprobation: O friend! I have supported him through a life of an hundred years, and thou hast conceived an abhorrence of him all at once. If a man pay adoration to fire, shouldst thou withhold the hand of liberality?"

"*Asiatic Miscellany, Calcutta, 1789.*"

Dr. Franklin's imitation of the Scriptural style.

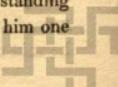
"And it came to pass, after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of his tent, about the going down of the sun, and behold a man, bent with age, coming from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff; and Abraham arose and met him, and said unto him, 'Turn in, I pray thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry all night; and thou shalt arise early in the morning, and go on thy way.' And the man said 'Nay; for I will abide under this tree.' But Abraham pressed him greatly: so he turned, and they went in unto the tent. And Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they did eat. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said unto him, 'Wherefore dost thou not worship the most high God, Creator of Heaven and



contrary to his usual custom, gives no marginal reference, and merely says that he found it 'in the Jews' books.' Now, it is not to be found either in the Mischna, nor in any of the notes by various authors, annexed to the edition of that work by Surenhusius. There are no traces of it in Bartolocci's *Bibliotheca Rabbinnica*, nor in the *Maimonides de Idololatria*, nor in his *More-Nevochim*, in which last work, indeed, one would scarcely expect to find it. Nor do I find it quoted or referred to in any of the works of Schöetgen or Wagenseil, which I have met with. It is, if it exists at all, probably in the *Gemara*, but I have no *Talmud* in my possession, and I do not know of any nearer than Oxford; nor, indeed, am I sufficiently skilled in the language to make much progress, without a guide, in that vast labyrinth. Possibly your extensive knowledge in Jewish literature may have brought the passage in your way; or, at all events, you will be able to give a good guess whereabouts it should be looked for, if, indeed, it exists; for it is remarkable that this is the only instance in which Taylor gives any sign of familiarity with the *Talmud*; and it is strange that so beautiful a story should not have been seen and quoted by others besides him. I have, therefore, some little suspicion that it is his own invention, and that he has merely called it a Jewish story to introduce it with better grace. Any information which you may supply, will be most gratefully received by me.

" I have read and re-read with great pleasure, and (except in a very few minor particulars) with full conviction, your second volume of ' proofs of the Trinity and Incarnation.' It is most provoking that

earth ?' And the man answered and said, ' I do not worship thy God, neither do I call upon his name; for I have made unto myself a God, which abideth always in mine house, and provideth me with all things.' And Abraham's zeal was kindled against the man; and he arose, and fell upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness. And God called unto Abraham, saying, ' Abraham, Where is the stranger ?' And Abraham answered and said, ' Lord, he would not worship thee, neither would he call upon thy name; therefore have I driven him from before my face into the wilderness.' And God said, ' I have borne with him these hundred and ninety-eight years, and nourished him, and clothed him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me; and couldst not thou, who art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night ?'"



the inveterate prejudice, or ignorant indifference of the public, should give so little encouragement to the progress of such a work, or to the cultivation of a literature containing so much curious and important matter. I should rejoice to hear, that the importance of your subject and the talent with which you have managed it, have overcome these difficulties to a greater degree than we anticipated."

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To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Chester, April 24, 1821.

" * * * * * We hope to return home the end of this week after a six weeks' residence in Chester, during which, however, I have made two trips, one to Shrewsbury for the assizes, the other home for Passion week. The former of these offered nothing at all remarkable, except the execution of a poor collier for rioting, in spite of considerable exertion to obtain his pardon, which succeeded in the instance of one of his companions who was also condemned, but not with this man, owing, I believe, to his previous bad character.

* * * * *

" * * * * The Roman Catholic question has excited this time far less interest than I expected, either during or since the decision. A party of the gentry of Cheshire, who were most of them decided ultra tory, with whom I was a week ago, were generally disposed to favour the measure. In Shropshire a similar division of opinions, or, perhaps, to speak more properly, suspension of opinions, has existed; and all attempts to get up a Protestant petition were received so coolly as to be strangled in the birth. Here, in Chester, the Cathedral bells were rung when the decision was known; but the clergy, in general, profess themselves sorry that this was done.

* * * * *

" * * * * I was glad to see you had an opportunity



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of speaking on reform, and liked much what you said, so far as the newspapers gave me the means of judging.

* * * * *

“ I hardly know whether to be sorry or glad for the event of the Italian troubles. The Spanish constitution, which seems to be regarded in the south of Europe as good for all complaints, a sort of ‘*catholicon d'Espagne*,’ is as bad a one as can be contrived; and the character of the Italian patriots seemed of a very Birmingham description; but one can hardly help feeling that in Italy, under its present system, almost any conceivable change might be for the better. The best hope is, that the alarm which has been given may induce the different governments to compromise the matter with their subjects, by giving them the French charter.

“ All the world seems quiet, and the late release of the radicals from Chester castle, which it was intended to celebrate with a procession at Stockport, has passed *sub silentio*. I saw them in their prison some days before. Baggerley's long beard was imposing, and he looked the rebel extremely well; all, however, with the exception of Johnson the tailor, a fine intelligent middle-aged man, are poor animals; all seemed heartily tired of imprisonment, and expressed their hope that they should not get into similar scrapes again.

* * * * *

HODNET
TO THE REV. E. T. S. HORNBY.

“ **MY DEAR HORNBY,**

Hodnet Rectory, April 30, 1821.

“ Your last letter had to follow me from this place to Chester, where it found me full of the letter-writing, and other occupations consequent to an increase of my family, so that in fact I had hardly time or inclination to think of any thing which was not immediately connected with wife or daughter. This happy bustle (for, thank God, the health of both my treasures has been such as

to alloy my happiness with no more than a very small proportion of anxiety,) will, I hope, plead my excuse for not sooner answering what, from the kindness of its expressions, no less than from the flattering nature of the compliment which it conveyed to me, certainly called for an immediate answer.

" When I arrived home on Saturday, I found your work itself lying on my table, for which, as well as for the very kind and gratifying, though undeserved, manner in which you have spoken of me in your preface, I can only offer in return my best thanks, and the assurance of the high and sincere value which I set on your good opinion and your friendship. That I may long retain them both, and that we may have better opportunities for cultivating and enjoying the latter than have, for many years past, been in our power, is my earnest wish and hope. But, whatever may be our future prospects of intercourse here, I am not one of those who apprehend that a well-grounded esteem even for earthly beings will perish with the present world; and I trust I am not presumptuous in cherishing the hope that many of the friendships begun here, may be among the sources of our everlasting happiness hereafter. God grant, if it be His will, that this may be so with us !

" Believe me, dear Hornby,

" Sincerely your obliged friend,

" REGINALD HEBER."

To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, May 11, 1821.

" MY DEAR MILMAN,

* * * * *

" I rejoice to hear so good an account of the progress which your Saint is making towards her crown, and feel really grateful for the kindness which enables you, while so occupied, to recollect my hymn-book. I have in the last month received some assist-



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ance from ——, which would once have pleased me well; but alas! your Advent, Good Friday, and Palm Sunday hymns have spoilt me for all other attempts of the sort. There are several Sundays yet vacant, and a good many of the Saints' days. But I need not tell you that any of the other days will either carry double, or, if you prefer it, the compositions which now occupy them will 'contract their arms for you, and recede from as much of Heaven' as you may require. When our volume is completed, I shall be very anxious to have a day or two with you to arrange the weeding of the collection. If you would enable me, I should gladly get rid of by far the greater part of my compilation. But this is more than can be expected; and if you saw the heaps of manure which I have been obliged to turn over to gain a few barley-corns, you would not think so ill of my diligence as a *spicilegist* as I believe you now do.

"Ever your's truly,

"REGINALD HEBER."

"Have we no chance of seeing you here this summer? Surely your saint will not engross you much longer. I have kept your secret faithfully, but feel very impatient for her appearance. Many thanks for your kind congratulations. My wife and baby are both as well I could wish them."

To R. W. Hay, Esq.

"MY DEAR HAY,

Hodnet, May 28, 1821.

"* * * * I heard from Wilmot that you had by no means been converted to the faith of the Carbonari during your travels. For those redoubted warriors, alas, and the system of which they are a part, even the Edinburgh Review has not been able to make out a tolerable case. I own I have attended with much grief of heart to the whole of their advance and continuance, as what, if crushed, would only make the Austrian

yoke sit heavier on Italy,—if successful, would be a precedent in favour of jacobinism all over the world, and eventually, bring liberty itself into discredit by the excesses which would be committed under that mask. How often we have heard it said that the horrors of the French revolution were entirely produced by the irritation and danger occasioned to that country by the aggression of the surrounding old governments; and that, if France had been left to herself, nothing atrocious would have happened. And how completely have the proceedings in Spain, since the revolution, given the lie to this doctrine. It would be very comfortable if one were sure that all this evil would, in the end, produce good; and that sensible and practical systems of freedom would take place of the fashionable Spanish constitution. One cannot help hoping that this is still possible; but, at present, the world is bad enough, and there seems little chance of its growing better in our time. One of the few things which have given me pleasure in this late Italian scuffle, is the part which England has acted in keeping quite out of the war, and, at the same time, expressing an anxiety for the welfare of Sicily.

“ By-the-bye, where have you been? I have only heard of your being in Italy, without any further particulars. I should think myself happy to hear from you when you have time, if it were only to know whether you agree with Rose in his account of the Austrians in Milan, Venice, &c. You, as speaking German, are by far more likely to have heard both sides, and formed an impartial opinion, than any of the observers who have preceded you. I liked the Austrians so well in their own country that I would fain hope all their doings in Italy are not so bad as we are told they are.

“ In England you have found us, I think, a little wiser, or, at least, quieter than we were when you left us; * * *

* * * * and though the farmers still grumble a little about the queen, a sort of sneer mingles with their mention of her. They are, however, all wretchedly poor, and many of them

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appear to be losing hope and spirit. Rents have, indeed, been pretty generally lowered; and though not to the degree of reduction which will, probably, be necessary, yet enough to give them a little comfort, if not relief. Many of them, I believe, pray for a bad harvest, which aspiration the present unseasonable weather seems to make it probable will not be denied to them. Poor-rates, however, are falling rather than rising, a circumstance which seems to show the impropriety of the maximum clause in Mr. Scarlett's projected bill.

“ My Jeremy Taylor's life is making a tolerably rapid progress, though I still labour under a great scarcity of fresh or original matter. In the Quarterly I have done nothing since Wesley, but by the next quarter I am not without hope of being able to renew my functions there. Whether I shall get to town is, at present, very uncertain. My curate is soon going to leave me, and though I have good hopes of speedily supplying his place, my flock must not, in the meantime, be left in the wilderness. Oxford, I think I shall be obliged to visit; and, if I can spare time, the attraction of London will probably be, at that place, so great, as to draw me still further from my usual narrow orbit.

“ How much I wish you could come down to us some part of the summer; we have now bow meetings, and other kinds of serio-comic *fêtes* in our neighbourhood. I am sure you will not be sorry to learn that my wife and her little girl are both well; the latter, indeed, as fat and healthy as a damsel of two months old need to be.

“ How do you like Lord Byron's Faliero? I am out of patience with it; it has all Alfieri's coldness and want of interest, without his strength and stateliness. I have just read a noble MS. play on the subject of the Sicilian Vespers, by a very pretty woman, an authoress in North Wales. If she can get it on the stage I really think it will succeed.”



To John Thornton, Esq.

June 8, 1821.

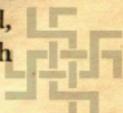
“ I felt much obliged to you for your kind information as to the mistake which appears to have gone abroad concerning my share in Jeremy Taylor. I cannot account for it, since I have looked over all the advertisements, none of which promise any thing but a uniform reprint of the former editions. My share in the business has been arrangement, selection of what pieces were really Jeremy Taylor’s, and, what I am now engaged in, a life of the author, and a critical account of his works. Nothing more, in fact, could have been done by me, except correcting the press, which, at this distance from London, was impossible, unless I had verified the quotations and written notes, which, had it been contemplated, would, of course, have been particularized in the prospectus. The advantages of a new edition were there expressly said to be those of a uniform edition of Taylor, instead of volumes of all sizes and descriptions, and the reprint of tracts, which, in their present state are, many of them, almost *introuavables.* I have, however, cautioned my booksellers more particularly as to the kind of professions they may hold out; and my brother has taken all the pains in his power to state publicly what share I really have in the undertaking.”

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, June 14, 1821.

“ * * * * * As for the coronation, I yet hope to see it to good advantage, unrolled from an ivory cylinder, after the manner of Epsom races.

“ I rejoice exceedingly that the king’s expedition is to take place; * * * * * If, after visiting Ireland, he sails in his yachct to Glasgow, and thence returns by Edinburgh

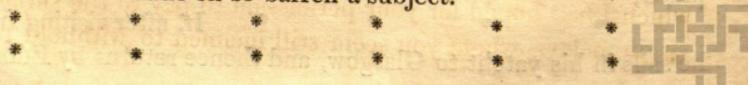


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and York, he will have done much, very much, towards regaining a positive and personal hold on the affections of a people who are naturally more inclined to admire and serve the stately figure whose smiles and bows they have shared in, than the abstract term which they have only known as G. R. on the top of a tax-paper, or which they have seen embodied in the vile caricatures of Hone and Company. I verily believe the Welch could hardly have rejoiced more if Arthur had risen again, than in the prospect of seeing him; all those who handle harp or organ anticipating royal applause, and all those who write dissertations and publish archæologies, looking forwards to the establishment of British professorships in the universities, and many similar *avatars* of bounty and patronage. Of course many, if not all these hopes will be disappointed.

" I see by the newspapers that you have not been idle in parliament, though of the merits of your speeches, no paper can enable one to form even a tolerable judgement. It is plain, however, that you have a very strong and increasing hold on the ear of the house, which is saying enough for your success thus far, and for your future prospects. I fear I should have divided against you on the Manchester question, though I thought your speech read well, and that you had chosen your ground judiciously. I have not met with any person among the magistrates, or their friends, who has been able to contradict, in any material circumstance, the account given by Edward Stanley; and with that account before me, I cannot see in their conduct any thing like a sound discretion. Among the other topics of the day, I am aware of none in which I disagree with you.

" I am pretty much out of the way of seeing new books. I believe you know my mind on the subject of *Faliero*; and of the Arctic voyage, all that can be said is, that Captain Parry has made certainly as large a book, and, perhaps, as amusing a one, for its size, as could be made on so barren a subject. *



Have you read Hornby's 'Childhood?' It contains some passages which I most earnestly, though vainly, intreated him to expunge from his MS. There is much, however, which pleases me, and enough, in a less poetic age, to have given its author a very pretty freehold on the temple of fame. Mrs. Hemans has written a tragedy on the subject of the Sicilian Vespers, of which it is saying too little to praise it as better than any which, for several years back, has been brought on the stage, and which, I think, would really make a popular acting play. It is by far the best of her productions.

* * * * *

God bless and prosper you!"

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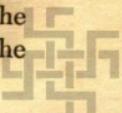
To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

"Hodnet Rectory, August, 1821.

"MY DEAR MILMAN,

" You will, I fear, have thought me very inattentive and ungrateful in not acquainting you with my movements, and the necessity I was under of declining your kind invitation, and hurrying down to Shrewsbury. The truth is, I was really so ill as to shrink, at the moment, from pen, ink, and paper; while, after I had recovered a little from my forced march into Shropshire, and my subsequent sermon at the assizes, (both which agreed but ill with a continued flux, which held me from Sunday to Friday,) I was obliged to set myself to work for another sermon for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Since that time, I have been but slowly recovering the effects of my complaint, and have had a good deal of plague in parish business.

" I could hardly have fallen ill at a more inconvenient moment than the last day of a contested election; but there were few circumstances which made me regret my indisposition more than its robbing me of my visit to St. Mary's, and of the pilgrimage which I had hoped for your permission to pay to the shrine of the virgin martyr, whom you seem still inclined to withhold from the



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devotions of the world. I heartily hope she will not long remain thus concealed. I have, indeed, besides the natural anxiety which all the readers of your former poems must feel for her appearance, a private reason of my own for wishing you delivered of her, inasmuch as, till then, I can hardly hope for more hymns, for which, however, I am very anxious. Heber has another election, fortunately not a contested one, impending over him, in his character of sheriff. The whigs at first grumbled a little at both seats for the county being likely to be occupied by tories; but the alarm appears to have subsided, and it is almost certain that Sir John Hill's grandson¹ will walk over the course. My wife is at her father's, whither I am going to-morrow to join her."

To R. W. Hay, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, Sept. 8, 1821.

" I have, for several days back, been meditating an epistolary attack on you, but this is one of the earliest on which I have been really equal to writing letters. The portentous heat of the day and of the room when and where I last met you, joined to my own anxiety, and one or two other circumstances incident to the occasion, completely overpowered me. I was laid up with a fever from Friday morning to Monday, and on Tuesday and Wednesday so completely knocked up by a forced march to Shrewsbury, and a sermon before the judges, that I have hardly yet recovered a reasonable strength of nerve, or my usual powers of exertion. The success to which you so kindly contributed ought to have cured me, or at least prevented the severity of my complaint; but I do not think it did me much good, though I have little doubt I should have been considerably worse if I had had the additional depression of disappointment. As it is I have nothing the matter

¹ The present Sir Rowland Hill, Bart., M.P. for Salop.

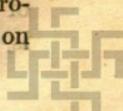
with me save languor; but as I have not often the honour of experiencing that sensation, it makes a greater impression on me, and unfits me more for active exertion than, perhaps, an equal degree of it would with many other men. On Monday I am setting off to join my wife by the sea side, and rely on her nursing and the salt air and salt water, with some little swimming, to put me in good condition against a formidable operation which awaits me in October,—that of presiding at a feast given by the yeomanry of this neighbourhood, in honour of my brother's success. It was to have taken place immediately, but the bad harvest stood my good friend, and our well-wishers were not more inclined than I was to hurry their rejoicings before they had gotten in their wheat. Our harvest is as bad as any thing can be, and a great proportion of the corn is already no better than dung on the ground. It is happy for the country that there is still much old wheat in the hands of the farmers. These last, however, say that if the ports are to be opened for foreign wheat, they must be ruined, as they have no crop this year to put in competition with it. They have, I think, begun to forget the queen, though the anxiety manifested in this and the neighbouring villages to have the pulpit hung with black, and the general adoption of mourning by the middling and lower classes, seem indications of the strong hold which she has, to the last, retained on their feelings and prejudices.

“ Believe me with much and sincere regard,

“ Ever your obliged friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

The contested election to which the two preceding letters refer, was for the representation of the University of Oxford; Sir John Nicholl and Mr. Heber were the candidates, and the latter was much indebted for his success to the exertions of his brother, which for many weeks had been unremitting, and at length produced a severe attack of fever. Mr. Reginald Heber's opinion on



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the question of catholic emancipation was opposed to that of the university ; but his character and general popularity induced many, to whom he was personally unknown, to undertake a long journey with the express intention of obliging him by voting for his brother. The brothers also differed on this point ; and in a speech made by Mr. Reginald Heber at the time of the election, with the view of publicly making known Mr. Heber's " determined hostility to the enlargement of the political power possessed by the Roman Catholics," he stated that he had frequently, but ineffectually, argued with him on this article of their political creed. The general bent of his political opinions appears from his correspondence ; in a letter to a friend he gives a more succinct account of them.

" —— does me too much honour in calling me an ultratory ; the sentiments which I expressed to him are those which you have often heard from me :—a conviction that a certain quantity of tory feeling is always good for the country ; and lamenting bitterly the present universal discontent, and the hatred, not of one party alone, but of all public men whatever, which prevails with the people."

This was written in the year 1816.

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 26, 1821.

" **MY DEAR LORD,**

" In consequence of the kind permission which you gave me some time back, I take the liberty of enclosing an extract from my life of Taylor, containing the account which I have given of the manner in which he became a fellow of All Souls. There is, indeed, a note besides, but that will only contain the documents

which I received from your Lordship and Cartwright. I have endeavoured, in my account of the transaction, to say neither too much nor too little, and more particularly to avoid any thing which might hereafter compromise the college. You will, however, confer a real kindness on me, by giving me your opinion, should any thing occur to you as better unsaid or necessary to be inserted; and I beg you to believe that I shall be most anxious to conform myself to your judgement. May I request the favour of an early answer, as my publishers are growing impatient, and I hope to get through, or nearly through, the press in the course of next month. I confess I begin to feel many of the pangs of approaching travail, and considerable anxiety as to the manner in which my book will be received by the world. My chief source of uneasiness is the paucity of interesting facts which I have been able to collect; if it had not been for Talbot and the ladies at Rosstrevor, they would have been few indeed. I comfort myself, however, with the recollection that, as a biographer, it was not my business to invent what I could not find, and that, probably, my critical account of Taylor's writings will be the principal object of interest with the greater part of my readers.

“ Believe me, my dear Lord,
“ Your Lordship's obliged and faithful humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 28, 1821.

“ MY DEAR MILMAN,

“ You have indeed sent me a most powerful reinforcement to my projected hymn book. A few more such hymns and I shall neither need nor wait for the aid of Scott and Southey. Most sincerely, I have not seen any lines of the kind which more completely correspond to my ideas of what such compositions ought to be, or to the plan, the outline of which it has been my wish to fill



up. In order that you may understand the nature of that plan more clearly, I have sent you the first volume of my collection, in which, as you will observe, I have marked the author's name or initials to all, whether original or collected, of which the author is known. You will see that it has been my plan to collect and, in some instances, to adapt, the best published hymns, and whatever applicable passages of religious poetry admitted of it. That these are not more numerous in my collection, and that there is so much of my own, I trust you will impute not to any conceit in my own workmanship, but to the real scarcity of foreign materials, and the miserable feebleness and want of taste which the generality of such collections display, and which have often driven me to my own resources in pure despair of being supplied elsewhere. There are not, as you will see, many *lacunæ* in the portion of the year which this little book contains. In the other half year they are more numerous; and even those Sundays which I have supplied with appropriate hymns, may very well carry double or even treble, if you will supply them with any thing of your own, or selected from other quarters.

* * * * *

“ I need hardly say that you will oblige me very much by any alterations, omissions, or additions which you may be inclined to suggest to those hymns which I now send you, and that the blank page has been left for the purpose of such friendly strictures.”

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

“ MY DEAR WYNN,

Hodnet, Jan. 22, 1822.

“ As I felt assured you would be almost overpowered by the congratulations of your numerous friends on your recent appointment¹, I had, in the first instance, almost determined to defer mine till we met. Yesterday's newspaper, however, which

¹ As President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India.—ED.



announces your kissing hands, leads me to believe that you have got through the first stream of felicitations, and that you may be therefore less bored with those of one who has many reasons for rejoicing in every prosperous event which befalls you or your family. I have, indeed, I will not say a stronger, but a better reason for my joy than that which arises from personal regard, and the recollection of many acts of friendship to me and mine, inasmuch as I cannot but feel pleasure in seeing your distinguished talents made more useful to the country, at a time when, Heaven knows, there is abundant need of all that high talents, high honour, and amiable manners can do to save it. I only add, what must be a great and legitimate source of satisfaction and encouragement to you in undertaking the duties of an important and arduous situation, that I have not yet met with any person of any party who has not spoken of your appointment with approbation and with hope.

" I am sure you will have heard with pain of poor Hodson's¹ death. I little thought that the illness against which he struggled so gallantly in my brother's cause, would have left so deep and fatal an impression on his constitution, as it now appears to have done. Yet I have received no details of his last indisposition; and did not, indeed, know that he continued ill, till, on my return on Saturday from Clumber, where we had been staying some days, I received the news of the fatal event from my brother. His letter was very short, and written in much agitation, but he promised me a further account in a post or two. Mrs. Hodson is, indeed, an object of unmixed pity.

* * * * *

" * * * * Poor Hodson, whom all his friends thought hypochondriac, is a lamentable instance that, even when no specific malady can be detected, there may be too good occasion for complaint or depression of spirits, and that the patient may be the best judge of his own sensations.

¹ Dr. Hodson, principal of Brasenose College, Oxford.—ED.



" Do not, amid the hurry of business by which you are, probably, as yet surrounded, plague yourself to answer this letter,—though, when you have time, it will make me happy to hear that you and yours are well.

"Believe me, dear Wynn,

"Sincerely your obliged friend,

“REGINALD HEBER.”



CHAPTER XX.

Mr. Reginald Heber appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn—Mr. Otter—Publication of the Life of Jeremy Taylor—Chambers in Lincoln's Inn—Letter on the arrangement of the Communion table, desk, and pulpit—Roman Catholic hymns—Lord Byron's “Dramatic Poems”—Fonthill—Publications by various Reformers—“Ecclesiastical Revenues.”

THE preachership at Lincoln's Inn becoming vacant, early in the year 1822, on the appointment of Dr. Lloyd to a canonry of Christ Church, and to the Regius Professorship of Divinity in Oxford, Mr. Reginald Heber was again a candidate for this honourable situation; the exertions of his friends were successful in procuring his appointment at the election, which took place in the ensuing April, when the whole number of benchers, except three, attended; soon after which he went to London to discharge the duties of his new office. On his birth-day in the same month he writes

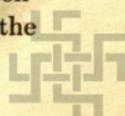
“ *Miserere mei, bone Deus! miserere peccatoris! da Spiritus tui auxilium, da purum castumque pectus, et e laqueis diaboli eripe servum tuum per Jesum Christum Dominum Nostrum.*”

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To John Thornton, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, Feb. 7, 1822.

“ Indeed, my dear friend, I felt and still feel very deeply the kindness of your letter, and the gratifying proof you have given of your recollection of me in giving my name to your little boy. I am sensible that I have been, of late, a very negligent correspondent, but have been engrossed closely and constantly with the



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task of expediting my last corrections of Taylor's life, and overlooking the proof sheets which are sent down by every post; and I have, I fear, both in your case and that of many others, allowed my arrears of letters to run to a very unreasonable extent. Yet I can truly say I have not forgotten the many delightful days I have passed in your society, or the obligations which I am under to your kindness; and you and yours, of which my little namesake now forms a part, are always remembered in my morning and nightly prayers. God grant to you all Heavenly blessings, and as much of this world's happiness as He sees good for you.

"I hope, in my anxiety to obtain the preachership of Lincoln's Inn, the idea that I may be useful in such a pulpit, and with the sort of audience which I may expect to see round me there, has borne no inconsiderable part. Yet I will own the wish to see more of the valuable friends from whom I am now in a great measure separated, has very much, perhaps principally, contributed to it. I feel by no means sanguine of success, indeed rather the contrary, as Malthby is, in all respects, a formidable opponent. If I fail, I trust, however, the disappointment will not be great; and I am well convinced, that if I fail, it will be better for me that I should do so, though I may not at present be able to perceive the reason."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, Feb. 7, 1822.

"**MY DEAR WILMOT,**

"I have many kindnesses at once to thank you for, and most of all for the truly friendly pains you have taken in my cause as candidate for the preachership. I should certainly like most exceedingly to compass this last, though I do not think that the present state of the canvass gives me any good grounds for being sanguine. It happened, unfortunately, that I was extremely incredulous as to Lloyd's giving up the situation, which, in the case of Van Mildert, was held some time with the canonry and professorship; and this circumstance, coupled with my distance from

town, gave Maltby a start, which I cannot but fear my friends, kind and zealous as they are, will hardly be able to retrieve. I do not know exactly whether Maltby's whiggery is for or against him. It may, and doubtless will, deprive him of several votes; but, on the other hand, the whigs are numerous and mighty in the list of benchers now lying before me; and a man of their own party has claims on them, which I, who have no party character at all, can only oppose by private friendship and interest. But, however it may turn out, I can never regret that the question has been tried, since the active support I have received from the friends whom I love best, and whose good opinion I am most anxious to retain, will, through life, be a delightful subject of retrospect, and not only endear them to me still more, but raise me in my own estimation, as having been the object of their regard and good will. I trust the decision will be made during this term, as even defeat is more endurable than suspense."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 18, 1822.

"I can easily believe that your time is closely and intently occupied, and only feel anxious lest your 'fencing by day and foaming by night' with Ionian disputes in your office, and Mr. Hume in the House of Commons, may be too much for your health. As for your spirits I believe them to be indomitable, except by the languor of a blockade, and have, therefore, no fear that you will need the relaxations of 'looking out of the window, and reading newspapers.'

* * * * *

"We are going to have a county meeting here on the 25th, called under singular circumstances. The sheriff refused to attend to the requisition on the ground that it was not sufficiently signed, and five magistrates have called a meeting in their own names. I know not what good is expected at this moment to flow from it;



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the reductions in the civil list afford an admirable topic for loyal men to descant on, and I am aware of little but the salt tax which can now be made a topic of popular outcry. I wish that this had been, if possible, abated; and am inclined to believe from the testimony of my rustic neighbours, that if the duty were less, more would be used and less smuggled, so as to make the loss to the revenue trifling. The reduction of the malt tax, whatever has been said to the contrary, is very popular."

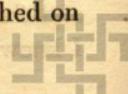
To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Hodnet Rectory, April 12, 1822.

"**MY DEAR LORD,**

" May I hope that you will forgive the liberty I am taking in recommending to your Lordship's notice and acquaintance my friend and neighbour, Mr. Otter, formerly fellow and tutor of Jesus College, Cambridge, and now rector of Chetwynd, in this county, who is going to reside for some time, with his wife and family, in Oxford as private tutor to Lord Ongley. He came into this neighbourhood warmly recommended to me by poor Dr. Clarke, with whom and with Malthus he had travelled over many parts of Europe, and whose memoirs he is now employed in writing. And the intimate acquaintance of several years enables me to vouch for him as a very able, accomplished, and amiable man, who has been, and is likely to be, popular wherever he is known. Clarke spoke of him as having distinguished himself in several ways at Cambridge; but he has lived so much in the world as to have worn off all the rough edges of the wrangler, and I have no doubt of his success in Oxford society, as much as his avocations will enable him to partake in it.

" Your Lordship will, I trust, before this reaches you, have received the *first*, or *last*, volume of Jeremy Taylor, which, with considerable fear and trepidation on my part, and after many delays on the part of the booksellers, is, by this time, launched on the sea of public opinion.



“ There is a time, I believe, when every author is heartily weary of his own works, and not sorry to get rid of them on almost any terms. This has been, for some time back, the case with me, so that I feel much relieved by my present emancipation, though uncertain what reception my poor infant may meet with in the world.

“ It is, however, a source of much satisfaction to me to believe, that my efforts, such as they are, will find in your Lordship a friendly and favourable judge.

“ Believe me, my dear Lord,

“ Your Lordship's obliged and faithful humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Lincoln's Inn, June 12, 1822.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I feel myself much obliged and flattered by your Lordship's kind expressions and good wishes, and trust it will always be my study to show myself not unworthy of the favourable opinion with which you have honoured me. I should, several days ago, have written to thank you for your letter, had I not, in the meantime, been immersed in the bustle usually incident to entering on a new residence, more particularly when that residence consists of little besides bare walls.

“ The chambers appropriated to the preacher here do not, indeed, lay claim to the character of a house; they are, however, more convenient than I expected to find them, and, though small, will hold my wife as well as myself very comfortably during the summer terms. The two others I shall come up as a bachelor. The situation in all other respects, of society, &c. is a most agreeable one, and the more so as it does not take me away from Hodnet more than three months in the year.

“ Your Lordship is very good to anticipate any amusement



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from my life of Taylor. I have only to request you to make allowance for the paucity of materials, and the difficulty of making an interesting narrative out of the obscure life of a poor and persecuted scholar. I have as yet heard very little as to the opinion which the world has passed on it, and that opinion has, thus far, been favourable; but it has reached me through friendly channels.

“ Believe me, my dear Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s much obliged and faithful servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To C. R. Cockerell, Esq.

Lincoln’s Inn, June 24, 1822.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I can assure you that I have not lost sight of your question, whether any grounds of objection are to be found in the canons or precedents of the Church, to such an arrangement of the communion table, desk, and pulpit, as you shewed me in your beautiful design for Lord Lansdowne’s Chapel; and I am happy to say that my subsequent enquiries have fully confirmed the opinion which I, in the first instance, expressed, that the custom of ascending to the chancel by a flight of steps, was, at once, most suitable to the public and decorous celebration of the service performed there, most consonant to the practice of Christian antiquity, and to the general arrangement of our Christian Churches, before the Puritans, and their dislike to every thing which favoured the name or notion of an altar, sank the communion table to the level of the floor, and obscured it as much as possible with the pulpit and reading desk.

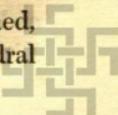
“ In the earliest Christian Churches, and so far down as the seventh or eighth century, so far as I have been able to discover, the communion table and the steps which led to it were the places whence all the principal parts of Divine Service were delivered. There was, in fact, nothing in those Churches which

properly answered to our notion of a pulpit. We find, indeed, towards the west-end of the nave, and near the partition which separated it from the 'narthex,' or station of penitents, one, or sometimes, two 'tribunes' or 'ambones' where the singers stood, and whence the deacons and other inferior officers of the Church chanted the litany, introits, &c. But the presbyters and bishop were always seated in the chancel, and whatever *they* did was done from the altar or the steps, which were generally pretty numerous so as to enable all the congregation to see what was going on. The chancel was in fact called *βῆμα*, from *αναβαίνειν*. And it is more frequently noticed that the Gospel was read, and the sermon preached there.

" You will find this substantially the same account which Bingham has given. (Antiq. of the Christian Church, B. viii. c. c. 5, 6.) He is wrong, however, in supposing the 'ambo' to have resembled a pulpit, inasmuch as it most certainly was a kind of gallery capable of holding many persons, as is plain from the 59th canon of the council of Laodicea, which speaks of the choristers going up there to sing. It answered, in fact, to our organ-loft, and to the galleries for singers in modern Greek Churches.

" This arrangement is still accurately followed in Russia, where, except in very modern Churches, pulpits are never seen; but the reader or preacher lays his book or MS. on a small moveable desk, like a music-stand, on the steps leading to the 'Royal Gate' of the *άγιον*.

" The rules prescribed by the English Church in this particular, are, merely, that a convenient pulpit, or preaching place, and desk, should be provided (without saying any thing as to their situation,) and that the communion table be railed in and placed against the eastern wall of the chancel. But the chancel itself is ordered to be left 'as in times past'; and it is very certain that all the old chancels, anterior to the reformation, were much elevated and approached by many steps. Some instances of this kind still remain. That in the Church of Tenby, is, as I am informed, raised nearly ten feet above the nave. The altar in the Cathedral



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of Chester, is approached by six or seven rather steep steps, and the same may be observed of the fine Church of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, and of that at Wrexham.

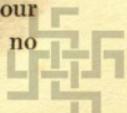
“ And when we consider that the most solemn and impressive part of our liturgy is celebrated in this situation, it seems no more than natural and decent to give it as much elevation as we find necessary and convenient for other parts of the service. It is as fit that all the congregation should hear the commandments, as it is that they should hear the litany; as necessary that the Gospel should reach their ears as the sermon; nor can I understand how the priest can be said to consecrate the elements ‘ in the sight of all the people,’ when he is enclosed with pews higher than his head, and when a pulpit fifteen feet high is built up between himself and his congregation. Nor is there much decency or good sense in exalting the pulpit so greatly above the reading-desk, as if preaching were a more important office than prayer, or the commentaries of men more valuable than the Scriptures themselves; and it is, therefore, noticed with approbation by honest Isaac Walton, in his life of Herbert, that this excellent man, in the new Church which he built at his own expence, had the pulpit and desk of the same height, and opposite to each other.

“ The truth is, that the time when the altars were depressed, and the pulpits exalted was, as I have already noticed, when the Puritans were in power: several instances of their having done so are mentioned by Walker, in his ‘ Sufferings of the Clergy;’ and it is probable that on the restoration the bishops acted with much wisdom in not returning immediately to the ancient custom, which so many were then disposed to consider as a remnant of Popery. But I do not believe that any feeling of this kind now exists, either among members of the Church of England or dissenters; and I can hardly think that, in a new erection, any offence would be given by an arrangement at once so convenient and so elegant.

“ On talking over your plan with a friend, whose experience and good sense, as well as his knowledge of the history of our Liturgy, made me anxious for his opinion, he said, ‘ the only diffi-

culties which occurred to him were, that old and infirm communicants would find the ascent of so many steps inconvenient, and that the preacher would not be sufficiently elevated.' The first of these objections might, I should think, be remedied either by making the stairs sufficiently easy, or perhaps, by placing them within the communion rails, so that the priest only, and not his communicants, would have to ascend and descend. But the fact is, that even in the largest Church, no great elevation would be necessary or desirable. Our modern pulpits are very much too high; we all know that sound ascends; and we therefore may easily understand why, in most London Churches, though the galleries hear well, the aisles can hardly hear at all; and why, in order to remedy an evil of his own creating, the builder has usually had recourse to a sounding board to beat the voice down again, an object which it answers very imperfectly. But from repeated trials I have found, as a general rule, that an elevation of six feet above the floor of the Church, is amply sufficient, and that at which the human voice is best heard by all parts of a large auditory. It is, in fact, nearly the height of the stage in most theatres, buildings of all others best calculated for the transmission of sound, and in the construction of which both sight and hearing are most studiously considered. On the whole, my impression is, that your plan needs only to be once tried to be very generally imitated; and that you have not only contrived an extremely convenient and picturesque arrangement of this necessary furniture of our Churches, but that you have got rid of what I always considered the great deformity and inconsistency of a step-like edifice for preacher, reader, and clerk, with its back directly turned on those mysteries which are, or ought to be, in every Church, the chief object of a Christian's reverence.

"The best, however, and the only legitimate judge of such arrangements is the ordinary, to whom, by the rules of our Church, it belongs to determine where the communion-table, &c. are to be fixed in every place of worship; and if any doubt exists in your mind, or the minds of the trustees for the new Church, I know no



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person on whose taste and judgement I could so implicitly rely as the Bishop of London.

“ Believe me, dear Sir,

“ Ever most truly your's,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart.

Hodnet, Aug. 13, 1822.

“ MY DEAR INGLIS,

“ Many thanks for your friendly letter, and the solemn and striking paraphrase¹ of the ‘*Dies Iræ*.’ I have more than once thought over the propriety of adding translations of the Roman Catholic hymns, at the end of my collection, but have been deterred, partly by the difficulty which I found in doing them into English to my own satisfaction, partly by a doubt as to the propriety of inserting any thing which was not intended and adapted for congregational worship. I have also another doubt: there is fine poetry and fine devotional feeling in all of them, but I am not sure whether they are not better to *pillage* and *imitate* than to *translate*, inasmuch as they are all, more or less, mixed with what is languid and tedious. The ‘*O Crux ave spes unica*,’ is one of the most spirited, but unhappily it is idolatrous; and so is the ‘*Stabat mater dolorosa*.’ The ‘*Dies Iræ*,’ as imitated by W. Scott, I have in my collection. It is less full and faithful, and less poetical than the one you have sent me; but it might be sung by an English congregation, which the last hardly could. But the main beauty of the Romish hymns has always appeared to me to be their solemn rythm, and simple and affecting melodies; and these neither Scott, nor your friend Mathias, nor any other imitator, that I know, has succeeded in retaining. I have often tried, but have always been obliged to throw overboard either words or rythm. I heartily wish you would try what is to be done.

¹ Anonymous.



“ Your former criticisms on my lectures were as intrinsically valuable, as they were kindly communicated; and you will really oblige me most essentially by allowing me when we meet, as I hope we shall in November, to look at your copy of Jeremy Taylor’s life. I have no idea as to the probability of the booksellers publishing it separately. They once talked of doing so, but I have since heard nothing more from them.

“ I have, thank God, a very favourable account to give both of my wife and child. The latter has suffered a good deal from her teeth; but in other respects is healthy, active, and lively, with quite as much intelligence as we can yet expect her to show. You do not name Lady Inglis,—I trust this silence means that she is well. My wife begs to unite in best regards to her and your sisters with,

“ Dear Inglis,

“ Sincerely your obliged friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, Aug. 26th, 1822.

“ I wish I had so much as suspected that you were to obtain a sufficient furlough from Downing Street, to enable you to make your appearance at Newcastle, as I am not aware of any thing which could have prevented my meeting you there. The chances of my obtaining that pleasure are now so few, that I naturally feel anxious to let none escape me. I look, however, with better hope to the approaching November, during the greater part of which I shall be on duty at Lincoln’s Inn, and when you will, surely, be more approachable than while, besides the care of islands and continents, you had to prepare yourself for the evening brush in the House of Commons. It gives me great pleasure to learn that you anticipate less fatigue during a future year, and when you have mastered the routine of your situation; and the more so since the dismal effect of poor Lord Londonderry’s labours has made, I



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fancy, many an ambitious and active head feel anxious about the carotid artery. The feelings which his sad end has called forth in this part of the country have, I think without exception, been credible; those expressed by the London mob are also not unworthy of that worshipful body, and such as, though I did not expect, I am not surprised at. The complaints which you mention having heard in Staffordshire are, I fear, pretty nearly universal, though if the landlords will but lower their rents *in time* as effectually as the clergy have been obliged to lower their tythes, (mine this year being pretty exactly what my father received in 1792) I verily believe the yeomanry would recover their spirits, their loyalty, and their prosperity. However, while the people of Edinburgh have shows, and the people of London bread at a cheap rate, and the two main causes of discontent (according to the ancients) are thus kept away from the two capitals, I trust the country may rub on a little longer.

* * * * *

“ My appointment to Lincoln’s Inn compells me to be resident as much as possible, during the remainder of the year, at Hodnet; and the little furlough I can this autumn allow myself, must be given to Bodryddan, where the Dean’s health is such as to make all the attentions of all his family no more than necessary.

“ Thank you for your two enclosures which I return; the favourable mention which the fragment makes of my preaching is agreeable for many reasons, but most of all, as it is plain the writer expected to give *you* pleasure by speaking well of me.

“ I have been very busy since I came home in reviewing Lord Byron’s dramatic poems¹. Of course, I have had occasion to find a reasonable quantity of fault, but I do not think that I have done him injustice. ‘ *Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt!*’ I should have liked to take up the same ground, in a great degree, with the Edinburgh Review, but, as it will never do to build on another man’s foundation, I have been obliged to break ground on a different side of the fortress, though not, I think, so favourable a one,

¹ Article in the Quarterly Review for 1822.—ED.

and with the disadvantage of contending against a rival who has, I think, conducted his attack with admirable taste and skill.

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“ I am now at work on my sermons for next term. I foresee already that, if I mean to do any good, or to keep whatever credit I have got at Lincoln’s Inn, I must take a great deal of pains, and bear in mind that I have a very fastidious audience ; and it happens that I am also engaged in a course of lectures at Hodnet, which obliges me to write a fresh sermon every week for my rustic hearers.”

To the Reverend Martin Stow.

Linacre, near Liverpool, October 21, 1822.

“ MY DEAR STOW,

“ After a long vacation, which has very little deserved the name, since, during the greatest part of it, I have been more than usually busy, I am on this coast, making myself up for the approaching winter campaign at Lincoln’s Inn. * * * * This is a quiet little place, which, though little more than four miles from Liverpool, and enjoying the view of all the homeward and outward bound ships, is almost as retired as if it were in the Hebrides. * * * * All the world in England have been running crazy to get a sight of Fonthill and its rarities. By all I can learn, it is indeed a fine thing, as far as splendour can make a thing fine, but in a taste which I could never admire ; the house a make-believe Cathedral, looking like a Church turned into a drawing-room by a crazy bishop.

“ * * * * A translation of Mosheim’s notes may be a creditable, but certainly not a profitable, work for you ; and even in point of credit I think you may employ your talents better. Merely to *translate* the notes is within the power of any man ; but to comment upon them would require more reading and greater labour than I think you would be repaid for. Besides, Mosheim is not always correct, and requires confutation, which would lead you greater lengths than you are aware of. If, however, you determine upon undertaking it, I should recommend your consult-



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ing the booksellers who have published the text, to ascertain whether you are likely to clash with any other person in the translation.

"I have written to Ogle and Duncan to desire they will reserve a copy of Jeremy Taylor's works and life, of which I beg you will do me the favour to accept, as a keepsake from one who often misses you, and who would regret your absence more if he did not hope it will eventually add to your prosperity and happiness. They are to be sent to your father's, either to follow you to Genoa, or to remain till your return.

"Believe me ever your affectionate friend,
"REGINALD HEBER."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Lincoln's Inn, November 1822.

" * * * * Among the possible conductors of the Quarterly Review, a name has just occurred to me which I cannot help thinking very likely to answer. It is that of Lockhart, the son-in-law of Walter Scott, and the author of 'Peter's letters,' which are written with abundant talent and caustic humour. He is, I understand, an advocate in Edinburgh, of great acknowledged talent, but little practice; and as his principles are decidedly Tory he may be very useful at the present moment."

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Lincoln's Inn, November 21, 1822.

" * * * * I make good progress in collecting and arranging materials for my review. Mr. Vansittart has furnished me with an extract of a return from the tax office, stating the gross amount of all tythes during the operation of the income tax, and Charles Wynn a similar statement of livings under 150*l.* per annum. I have also received an account of the number of clergy who really attended Bath, either as permanent or occasional residents last year; and, on the whole, I hope to give a more faithful picture of

the revenues of the Church, and to justify her members more satisfactorily from the popular charges brought against them, than has yet been done.

“ I have looked over Jeremy Bentham’s ‘ Church of Englandism,’ and some other works of the same sort, to see all that is said against us, and was sometimes tempted to laugh, but more often seriously vexed and concerned. I had no idea before, nor can you have any, of the bitterness, the actual fury with which both the reformers and the ultra-whigs speak of the clergy, and (some of them) even of Christianity itself. I hardly know which is most outrageous, the Edinburgh whig newspaper called ‘ the Scotsman,’ the Morning Chronicle, Jeremy Bentham, or the author (said to be Wooller) of ‘ the Black Book,’ from which I have been just making some extracts.

“ Mrs. Shipley has brought me a present from Miss Grimston of a very pretty work—a history of Gorhambury, of her own writing, and with drawings also by herself, all lithographed. It is very cleverly done.

“ The Bishop of London has suggested a good many alterations in my hymns, but speaks very handsomely of them, and encourages me to publish them.”

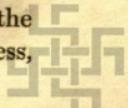
Mr. Reginald Heber’s appointment to the bishopric of Calcutta occurring a short time after this letter was written, the review mentioned in it was never finished. As the editor has been enabled, through the kindness of Mr. Lockhart, to recover the existing sheets from Mr. Gifford’s papers, she now gives them to the public.

“ ART.—1. *Black Book; or Corruption Unmasked.*

2. *Remarks on the Consumption of National Wealth by the Clergy of every Christian Nation.*

3. *The Rights of the Clergy asserted.*

“ Of the works the titles of which we have here enumerated, the first is one of the most characteristic specimens of the Jacobin press,



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which have for several years fallen under our notice. Bound in black, and with enough of black letter in its title-page to captivate the affections of half the Roxburghe Club, it has held, for some time, a prominent situation in the windows of a certain description of booksellers ; and has been puffed by the radical press, with a perseverance worthy of a better cause. It is, in fact, a sort of court-calendar, or list of places and pensions, full of inaccuracies and misrepresentations ; and accompanied by a commentary, which holds up to almost equal reprobation the king, the parliament, the judges, the lawyers and the law ; the landed aristocracy, whether Whig or Tory ; and, among public men, almost all whose names have been, at any time, remarkable either among the Lords or Commons.—Not only Lords Castlereagh, Eldon, and Grenville ; but Lord Erskine, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Sussex, are held up to popular indignation in the proscribed list of placemen and pensioners :—not only Messrs. Perceval and Canning ; but Sir James Mackintosh, Messrs. Fox, Bennet, and Brougham are spoken of in terms of aggravated scorn and abhorrence. The property of the fund and land-holder is alike denounced as an encroachment on the national rights ; and no engine of mendacity, malice, revenge, or cupidity, is neglected, which may stimulate the mob to that employment of ‘physical force,’ which we have been so frequently exhorted to understand in a blameless sense.

“ They are the clergy, however, who are the peculiar objects of animosity. If the writer is to be believed, they are ‘ by far the most iniquitous of the different classes opposed to the welfare of the community.’ ‘ While they render the least service to society, they devour the largest proportion of the produce of industry. They are ungrateful to those who feed and clothe them, and prostitute the religion which they profess, but the principles of which they never practise, to support a political system by which they are protected in vice and indolence.’ ‘ A Church of England priest is a furious political demon, rapacious, insolent, and luxurious, having no fear of God before his eyes ; ‘ exerting all his influence to promote tyranny, and enslave and

destroy his fellow-creatures.' ' The same blood-thirsty spirit appears to pervade the whole body.' ' They are *all* for the bayonet, the sabre, the dungeon, and the field-piece.'—p. 330.

" Nor is this wonderful, since we are told just before, that from such a system as that of the Church of England, ' we can neither have liberty, piety, morality, nor knowledge.' ' Hypocrisy, lying, popery, and fraud, are the natural effects of the formulaires she employs in her ceremonies and her public schools: and *it is* these principles that form the basis of the education of our judges, statesmen, and legislators. It is impossible to feel much surprize at the conjunct villainy of church and state, when we find that those who fill every department in both, imbibe such doctrines as the foundation of their knowledge.'

" Abuse of this kind, so vehement, so unmeasured, and so entirely unsupported by evidence, may seem little calculated to do much lasting harm to its objects. But, ' though some make light of libels,' we have been taught by old Selden to ' learn by them which way the wind sits.' The volume from which we have cited these atrocities, though not always grammatical, is, on the whole, not ill written; and it is got up with an expense, which is a proof either of powerful patronage, or of a confidence in popular favour. And the sentiments which it expresses, in the simplicity of undisguised rancour, only differ in intelligibility from the crazy work of Mr. Bentham on the same subject,—and in superior openness from the similar attacks which, week after week and day after day, are repeated in the Statesman and the Morning Chronicle.

" Assertions even the most unfounded, steadily and unblushingly persevered in, fall at length with the force of truth on that large proportion of mankind, who are content to take their opinions on trust, and to receive as an undoubted fact, whatever is allowed to pass uncontradicted. And such charges are always most formidable, when directed against a body of men, in themselves politically feeble; whose utility, and whose influence are dependent on popular opinion, and against whom many circumstances natu-



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rally operate, to excite an unjust and exaggerated estimate of their infirmities and their possessions.

“ Of the causes of misrepresentation to which we have alluded, one of the most obvious is, perhaps, that which arises from the divided state of the national mind on religious subjects. It seldom, if ever, happens, that a dispute, even when purely doctrinal, can be carried on with perfect charity on either side. From impugning the tenets, men generally proceed to revile the persons and inveigh against the lives of those with whom they differ; even the virtues of an adversary are often misconstrued, and his faults are detected with eagerness and enlarged on with a pleasure, of which even the accuser himself may be unconscious. In the history of the Reformation, we find the characters both of Roman Catholics and Protestants represented in the blackest or the brightest colours, according to the side taken by the different historians of the period. In the pages of Walker and Calamy, the saints and the persecutors alike change names and sides; nor is it extraordinary that, in the present day, the same feelings should prevail, and that, while the clergy themselves are too apt to confound all the dissenting teachers under the same category of hypocrites and enthusiasts, the presbyterians and methodists should retort the charge with still greater vehemence, on the clergy, of careless and carnal lives, neglect of duty, luxurious and worldly habits, and a misapplication to unworthy purposes of the vast sums bestowed on them by the nation.

“ Accusations of idleness and luxury, indeed, are, of all others, those which may be most easily made, and with the least danger of being refuted, both because they are themselves, from their nature, indefinite, and because they are readily received by the natural envy of mankind against all whose worldly condition we are inclined to think preferable to our own, and with whose peculiar employments, and peculiar trials and sacrifices, we have few opportunities of becoming acquainted. No man, in whatever public station he may be placed, either does or can do *all* his duty,

Even in the most active and popular public labourers, some deficiencies of power or diligence will be found; and if these are all to be treasured up, and instanced by an alert and unfriendly observer; if those facts, which may be exceptions from the general character, are taken as samples of it; and every little defect of energy, every little admission of self-indulgence, be suffered to detract from ministerial worth and usefulness, few men, of any sect or party, could hope to pass uncensured. Nor is this all. Of a man in easy circumstances, even the moderate comforts seem luxurious to the poor; of a student, the severest labour is unseen and unintelligible by the husbandman or the artizan. Even the higher classes (to say nothing of those among them who have learned without understanding them, the phrases of productive and unproductive labourers, and the cant of that scheme which, with the greater number of its professors, is a cant only) are apt to judge of the parson by what they see of him on gala days, on occasions of hospitality, and during the hours of relaxation; and are little aware that the man who gives once a quarter a handsome dinner, and who, for a fortnight in the year, is seen in Bath or London, may have his daily fare no better than that of a moderate farmer, and may be steadily and laboriously occupied during eleven months out of the twelve, in his Church, his charity school, and in the cottages of his poor parishioners.

“ Much of this odium is usually escaped by the methodist or dissenting teacher. As his income is generally, in fact, smaller than that of the established clergyman, and as that income is raised by voluntary contributions, he is naturally less envied; and, from the comparative privacy of his station, his faults, if he has any, are less conspicuous. Even if detected in gross immorality, he is dismissed by his ecclesiastical superiors, without noise or scandal; or, having no permanent interest in the place where he officiates, he leaves it of his own accord, for some other situation where he is less known; while the correction of a profligate clergyman is a matter of legal difficulty and endless delay, of publicity and party, of quibble and cross-examination, and either nothing

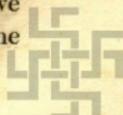
can be done to abate the nuisance, or, if any effectual measure is taken, he is very possibly held up as an unfortunate and persecuted person ; and, in either case, the Church is made to bear the full blame of the faults or misfortunes of a few of its members.

“ There are many practices too, which, though not really immoral, are, at the present day, unpopular in clergymen, and to which, in fact, few clergymen, in comparison, are addicted ; which, whenever they occur, are of so conspicuous a nature, as materially to affect the estimation in which the whole body are held. A single political parson is known through a whole county ; a single fox-hunter in black is cried out against all the way from Quorn to Pytchley. But who knows, who hears or enquires, how many parishes there are, in an extensive district, whose obscure and humble pastors attend no public meetings but a visitation, and know no amusement beyond a little angling, or an occasional dining visit to a neighbour ? Yet it is these, and not the others, from whom the character of the Church of England can be estimated fairly.

“ Nor must another fact be omitted, which is, that there really was a time when much of this censure, to which the Church is liable, was far better deserved than at the present day. With every allowance for the desperate party-virulence of Burnet, who, good man as he was in other respects, hated the majority of his brethren heartily, because they were opposed to him in politics, and believed them to be drunkards, because he knew them to be Jacobites, there is some reason to believe, that the English clergy were really no gainers, in character or usefulness, by the part they took in the squabbles of Whig and Tory, and by their alliance with a faction of country squires, who seem to have measured a man’s loyalty to King James, by the bumpers of October which he swallowed, and to have required and admitted no other test of his orthodoxy, than a total difference in manner and conversation from the precise gravity of his puritan rivals. Nor were the Whig hierarchy themselves (for out of this party the hierarchy was chiefly selected) without their besetting snares, and their faults of a different character. As the party to which they adhered, and

on which they depended, were even more suspicious of the ecclesiastical than of the kingly power, they were most of them chosen for the moderation of their talents, as well as their principles, and a want of energy was a recommendation, far more than an objection, with those who held the key of honours and preferment. Between them and their clergy was little community of feeling or of interest; and from those who had not sufficient virtue to reside on their dioceses of their own accord, the letter of the law, and the low state of public feeling on such subjects, required no more than that they should go thither for their triennial visitation. The rest of their time was, in a great measure, spent in the levee of Walpole, or the closet of good Queen Caroline; while the richer clergy were gradually encouraged to imitate their example, and Bath and Buxton were filled with idle ecclesiastics, till the slumberers were alarmed by the war-cry of Wesley and Whitfield.

" Of the reaction produced by their preaching and popularity, and of the improvement which both the efficiency and the character of the clergy, as a body, have since exhibited, we have elsewhere spoken, and we may, hereafter, speak more fully. But what we would here observe is, that however real and extensive the amendment, the evil effects of the scandal have, as yet, by no means died away; that there are too many persons interested in the outcry, to suffer it readily to subside; that many, whose fathers left the Church when the conduct of its members really deserved reprehension, still suppose its failings to be as unchanged as its ceremonies; and that some, who are not unwilling to allow those particular clergymen, with whom they are in habits of intercourse, to be blameless or exemplary men, and diligently employed in the discharge of their duty, indemnify themselves for this praise of those whom they know, by an indiscriminate censure of those of whom they know nothing, and persist in regarding the favourable sample as no more than an exception from the general and traditional character of the body to which it belongs. And when we take into this part of the account the particular animosity of the



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jacobins against the Church, (and though, as yet, not a numerous body, no other class of men are so active;) and when we pay due attention to the effect of the popular phrensy excited by the queen's trial, (the chief odium of which, by a singular and most unfortunate policy, was contrived to be thrown on the clergy,) it is, perhaps, less to be wondered at, that the Church of England should have a certain share of unpopularity, than that she should have retained or recovered any degree of popularity or influence.

“To all these occasions of slander must be added, the effects of the tithing system; an addition well calculated, of itself, to prevent even the greatest store of talents, virtues and acquirements, from obtaining that influence which naturally belongs to them, over the minds and affections of the people. As a burthen on the state, indeed, and as a hindrance to agriculture, we are persuaded that its evil effects are greatly and wilfully overstated. Nor, at a certain stage of national improvement, and under certain forms of society, is there any way in which a tax is more lightly felt, or more willingly borne by the people. During the peasants' war of Germany, one of the demands of the commons was, that their rents, like their tithes, might be paid in kind; and Luther, who was well-acquainted with, and, on this occasion, spoke the popular feeling, contrasts, in his Commentary on the first Book of Moses, the leniency and equity of the Divine Law, which took a tenth of that which the ground actually brought, with the severity of the Teutonic lords, who demanded a fixed rent under all circumstances of disappointment and unkindly seasons. But when money is abundant, and markets always at hand,—when agriculture has become a mercantile speculation, and instead of one uniform succession of crop and fallow, new modes of culture are resorted to, of the most expensive character, and of great, but uncertain profits,—the system is certainly calculated to weaken the mutual affection of the pastor and his parishioners, being at once uncertain and litigious; the impost is also levied on lands which the tenants hold from another proprietor, and is paid, therefore, without any of that feel-

ing of mutual interest and hereditary attachment which, where a lay-landlord is concerned, alleviates, in a small degree, to the farmer, the bitterness of his expected rent-day.

“ But the ill effects of the tithing system, so far as the Church is concerned, have been, we apprehend, more felt during the last fifty years, than during any former period of our history. The system of agriculture has become more costly. A race of educated and gentlemen agriculturists has sprung up, who, as they frequently began their enterprise without counting the costs, were furious at every deduction which was made from those profits to which they fancied themselves entitled; and, above all, the collection of the tithes has fallen generally into the hands of the parochial clergy themselves, instead of only reaching them through lay-tenants and lay-patrons, who, while they shared in the fruits of the system, bore also their proportion of its unpopularity. We are ourselves old enough to have some recollection of the time when, in the midland and north-western counties of England, and, we believe, over the greater part of the kingdom, the parochial tithes were uniformly rented by the lord of the manor, or some other principal freeholder, who paid a fixed and, generally, a very moderate sum to the clergyman, and collected, in kind, the produce of the farms. At present the tithes are let by the parson himself, either annually, or for a term of years, to the tenants; and those tithes are gathered which they will not take at the valuation. This arrangement, it is evident, is more advantageous to the tenant, at once, and the tithe-owner, inasmuch as the profit made by the middle-man is now shared between them; but it is equally evident that, by excluding this last from his part of the spoil, a new and formidable recruit is given to the party interested in decrying tithes; while, at the same time, the odium and misery of arranging or enforcing his bargains with each individual parishioner, devolves on him who ought, on every principle of reason and mutual comfort, to have as few dealings of the kind, and with as few of his parishioners as possible. In the earlier days of the reformed Church, indeed, and almost down to the period of which we are



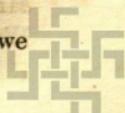
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speaking, no complaints appear to have arisen of the too great opulence of the parochial clergy, who are represented by our play-writers and novelists as a frugal and farmer-like race of men, of manners unpolished and pedantic, whose admission into good society was of an extremely dubious character, and who thought themselves not ill off, if they compassed a marriage with my lady's maid, or, at best, a poor relation of the family. The vicarages, in particular, are described by Echard as sordidly poor, and the whole notion of clerical wealth was confined to the bishops and dignitaries, of whose incomes, then, as now, the popular estimate was sufficiently exaggerated. These things are altered, and altered for the better. But, while the condition of the clergy has been really, in many respects, improved, we cannot be surprised that their advantages have been overrated; or, that the aggregate amount of their revenues is supposed to be very great, when there are so many persons who feel the payment of part of those revenues sufficiently burthensome.

“ It is this largeness of endowment, indeed, which is the peculiar grievance of the case, not only with writers like him whom we have quoted, but with others of a graver and more respectable authority. Even those who speak with moderation and decency of the *lives* of the English clergy, are ready to speak of their revenues as, under all circumstances, excessive and pernicious; as tending to corrupt the Church, while they impoverish the nation; as exceeding, many times over, the most liberal pay which the ecclesiastics of other Christian countries receive; as wasted in luxuries unfit for the professors of religion, or, at best, employed in maintaining an idle and unnecessarily numerous army of ecclesiastics with means which had better be employed in the national defence, or the alleviation of public burthens. It is not the author of the Black Book alone who reckons the tithes of England and Wales at 5,000,000*l.* annually, and the revenues of the bishops and dignified clergy at 625,000*l.* more; all drawn, as he gravely tells us, from the *taxes* and labour of the people. The Edinburgh Reviewers, not content with swallowing in the bulk the exaggera-

tions of Mr. Wakefield concerning Ireland, have since directed an attack of equal bitterness against that sister Church, of whom they, in the first instance, spoke with comparative indulgence. They now tell us of '*the prudent regard for the things of this world exhibited by the English clergy*,' and call on our nation to 'contemplate, if they can, without murmuring or repining, the cheap and pure ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland.' They inveigh against 'prelates with twenty or twenty-five thousands a year,' in the temper of the ancient Roundheads, and indulge in a language which, if it is not *intended* to induce a formal spoliation of the property of the Church, is as well calculated to produce such a consequence as any words which the strongest advocate of that measure would, in the present stage of the business, think it expedient to resort to. The most formal proposition, however, to this effect, and one of the strongest instances of the extent in which an exaggerated opinion of clerical wealth has gained ground in the country, is contained in the publication which stands second at the head of the present article. Its author is neither a furious jacobin, a crazy bigot, nor a contemner of religion. Though evidently prejudiced against the English Church, he is not uncourteous in his language, and is a professed respecter of vested interests. He proposes to purchase the rights of lay patrons, and reserve those of lay impro priators, to provide a sufficient, and even a liberal compensation for the present incumbents of parishes; and to leave to the Church of England hereafter a revenue which, in proportion to its numbers, shall make it the wealthiest establishment in Christendom. And yet, when all these ends are answered, he expects enough to remain from the sale of ecclesiastical property to afford abundant incomes to all the Roman Catholic and dissenting Clergy; to raise the annual stipends of the Scottish parochial ministry to what he conceives their due level; and to redeem *one hundred millions* of public debt, and relieve the nation from *four millions* of annual taxes!

" The process by which he arrives at these golden results we



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are anxious to give, as far as possible, in his own statements, which have, indeed, been pretty generally circulated in the jacobin and opposition newspapers. Nothing can more remarkably prove the rashness with which such statements are sometimes made ; or the avidity with which, when they favour a popular outcry, the most unwarranted assertions are received as certain.

“ He begins by assuming that a ‘ crisis in the financial concerns of the British empire must, before long, take place ; when something like Mr. Heathfield’s plan must be attempted ; and the holders of all the real property of the country (land, houses, &c.) and of the funds, must contribute a portion of their property to extinguish a part of the national debt ; and that, in so pressing an emergency, it seems extremely probable that the church property will be *first* applied to the same purpose.’ He justifies this preference by the examples of different continental states, and still more from the necessity (in the race which we are running with those states and the great and rising republic of North America) of discharging ourselves ‘ of the enormous weight of church establishment, which they are freed from.’ He expresses some doubt whether it may not be best to leave the clergy, as in the United States, entirely to voluntary contributions ; but is disposed, on the whole, to apprehend that ‘ a liberal but still reasonable provision is most advisable.’ That the present provision of the English clergy is *unreasonable*, he proceeds to show as follows.

“ In the first place, their numbers are too great.—Assuming, as undoubted fact, that, of the 12,000,000 inhabitants of England and Wales, only one half, or 6,000,000, are hearers of the established Church ; and assuming also that one clergyman is sufficient to take care of 1800 hearers, he concludes that about 3500 parish priests would answer all the wants of that portion of the community who depend on their instructions. But following the calculations, or, to speak more properly, the *conjectures*, of Mr. Colquhoun and Mr. David Simpson, he states the episcopal clergy of England and Wales at no less than 18,000 ! an army of preachers which, as he

with some reason concludes, is extremely disproportioned to the service which they have to perform, and to the general population of the country.

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“ In the next place, the clergy are too rich.—This he attempts to establish by the following table, the comparative moderation of which he proves by subjoining a still more portentous calculation from the writer of the *Morning Chronicle*.

‘ *Estimates of the Revenues and Property of the Established Church in England and Wales and Ireland.*

ENGLAND AND WALES.

Estimate used in these Tables.

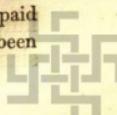
Annual value of the gross produce of the land of England and Wales ..	£150,000,000
One-third of the land of England and Wales not subject to tithe for the clergy, being either tithe-free, or lay impropriations	50,000,000
Leaving the amount on which tithes for the clergy is levied.....	£100,000,000
Supposing the clergy to levy 1-16th, they get	6,250,000
Tithes	£6,250,000
Estates of the bishops and ecclesiastical corporations	1,000,000
Assessments in towns, on houses, &c.	250,000
Chapels of Ease stipends	100,000
The estimate of Church property used in these tables.....	£7,600,000

Remarks, p. 58.’

“ The Church property of Ireland he reckons at £1,300,000.

“ To make a part of this immense wealth applicable to the purposes of the state, and to the maintenance of the clergy of other sects, as well as those of the Protestant episcopal persuasion, the projector recommends that

‘ The commissioners appointed for this purpose be empowered to sell all Church property, both tithes and estates. A preference in the sale of tithes to be given to the owners of the lands. The money gradually arising from the sales to be vested in the public funds; the interest to be paid to the holders of the livings for their lives; which payment will be about equal to their present income, and paid without irregularity or dispute. At the death of the present holders, the successor to be paid according to the scale of national stipends, unless in cases of reversions having been sold. No sales of reversions to be valid, if made after the new arrangement.



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‘ The tithes may be computed to bring twenty-five years’ purchase, and the estates thirty years’ purchase. To compensate the owners of presentations, nine years’ income or 9-25ths of the capital arising from the sale to be paid to them ; the remainder, or 16-25ths, to be applied to the use of the nation. The whole proceeds of the livings in the presentation of the crown, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical corporations, to be applied to the use of the nation.’

‘ *Estimated amount of the Church Property which can be resorted to for the use of the State.*

Tithes belonging to livings in the gift of the crown, the bishops, and the ecclesiastical corporations, £3,250,000 per annum, at twenty-five years’ purchase	£81,250,000
Tithes belonging to livings in the gift of individuals, £3,000,000 per annum, at twenty-five years’ purchase £75,000,000	
Less 9-25ths to be paid to the individuals	27,000,000
	48,000,000
Tithes	£129,250,000
Estates £1,000,000 per annum, at thirty years’ purchase	30,000,000
Value of Church property in England	£159,250,000
Ditto in Ireland £1,300,000, at fourteen years’ purchase	18,000,000
Total value of Church property	£177,250,000

‘ As soon as the commissioners have accumulated in the funds seventy-five millions of money unencumbered, and applicable to the use of the state, then so much national debt to be extinguished, and annual taxes, particularly affecting land and houses, to the amount of three millions, to be taken off, and the plan of national stipends, and the new provisions for all denominations to take place ; the remaining one hundred millions, as it accumulates, to be applied in the same manner. By this means, the national debt and taxes will be reduced materially, and yet no man will have injustice done to him ; for those who are in possession of benefices, will continue to enjoy them for life ; and to those who have the right of presentation to a living, the nation pays the money value of such right.’—pp. 70, 71.

“ In the mean time, and while this work is in progress, a fresh tax of two millions is to be imposed on the rents of lands and houses, valued at £40,000,000 in England and Wales ; of one million two hundred thousand, at one shilling and ninepence in the pound, on similar rents in Ireland ; and of eighty-five thousand in Scotland, at three-pence in the pound, in addition to the present ecclesiastical payments made in the last country, and in order to raise

them to that level which the author thinks desirable for the maintenance of a learned priesthood, and the further provision for the different bodies of dissenting clergy in that nation. These sums to be distributed as follows:—

'Projected expenditure on the Clergy of all denominations in England and Wales.'

Episcopal Body and other Dignitaries of the Church of England.

EPISCOPAL BODY.

2 Archbishops	at £8000 each	£16,000
24 Bishops	at 3000 each	72,000
60 Archdeacons	at 1000 each	60,000
27 Deans	at 1000 each	27,000
113 persons, the episcopal body, to receive	£175,000

OTHER DIGNITARIES.

200 Canons, Prebends, &c., at £200 each	£40,000
Whatever number of canons and prebends enjoy the honour of the title, only 200 to receive the national stipend.	
313 persons, episcopal body and other dignitaries of six millions of hearers, to receive	£215,000

'Estimate of the projected expenditure on the working Clergy, both of the established Church and of all other denominations.'

Number of Clergymen.	Number of Persons accommodated in each Place of Worship.	Number of Persons to each Congregation.	Total number of People in their Congregations.	Amount of Annual Stipend.	Total amount of Stipend.
500	2000	3300	1,650,000	£350	£175,000
1000	1500	2500	2,500,000	320	820,000
2500	1000	1700	4,250,000	290	725,000
2500	666	1100	2,750,000	250	625,000

6500 clergymen, pastors of 11,150,000 people, to receive £1,845,000
Episcopal body and other dignitaries of the Established Church 215,000

Total amount for all the clergy of all the people of England and Wales .. £2,060,000
Twelve millions of people, at £170,000 per million 2,040,000

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'The congregations would, of course, always consist of many more persons than the lowest number requisite for each stipend, and thus it may be computed they would contain the whole twelve millions of the people.'

'The Kirk, or Church of Scotland, being the best clerical system in existence, not to be interfered with, unless, perhaps, an addition to be made to bring all stipends up to £200.'

'The clergy of the half million of people in Scotland, who are not of the Kirk, to have a provision on a similar plan to that of the working clergy in England. This provision might cost about £85,000, computing it at the same rate as in England, £170,000 per million of hearers.'—*Remarks*, p. 64.

IN IRELAND.

Episcopal Body and other Dignitaries of the Church of England and Ireland.

EPISCOPAL BODY.

4 Archbishops	at £8000 each	£32,000
18 Bishops	at 3000 each	54,000
34 Archdeacons	at 1000 each	34,000
33 Deans.....	at 1000 each	33,000

89 persons, the episcopal body, to receive £153,000

OTHER DIGNITARIES.

100 Canons, Prebends, &c., at £200 each £20,000

Whatever number of the canons and prebends enjoy the honour of the title, only one hundred to receive stipends.

189 persons, the episcopal body and other dignitaries of 400,000 hearers, to receive £173,000

'Estimate of the projected expenditure on the working Clergy, both of the established Church and of all other denominations in Ireland.'

Number of Clergymen.	Number of Persons accommodated in each Place of Worship.	Number of Persons to each Congregation.	Total number of People in their Congregations.	Amount of Annual Stipend.	Total amount of Stipend.
500	2000	3300	1,650,000	£350	£175,000
1000	1500	2500	2,500,000	320	320,000
1000	1000	1700	1,700,000	290	290,000
1000	666	1100	1,100,000	250	250,000

3500 clergymen, pastors of 6,950,000 people, to receive £1,035,000
Episcopal body and other dignitaries of the Established Church 173,000

Total amount for the clergy of all the people of Ireland £1,208,000

Seven millions of people at £170,000 per million £1,190,000

‘ The sum which the Roman Catholics are, like others, entitled to, according to their congregations and accommodation in places of worship, to be subdivided. The Catholic pastors, being single men, to be paid only two-thirds of the stipends; the other third to form a fund, out of which to pay their episcopal body and dignitaries, and also the additional clergymen required by the observances of their religion, as follows :

4 Archbishops	at £1000 each	£4,000
18 Bishops	at 700 each	12,600
18 Archdeacons	at 250 each	4,500
18 Deans	at 250 each	4,500
58 persons, the episcopal body, to receive	£25,600

OTHER DIGNITARIES.

100 Canons and Prebends, at £50 each	5,000
158 persons, the episcopal body, and other dignitaries of 5,500,000 hearers, to receive	£30,600

The remainder to be paid in stipends to auxiliaries of £120 each.

N.B. This plan to be followed with the Catholics in Great Britain.’—*Remarks*, p. 66.

“ Such is his plan, of which we have given, we trust, a perfectly fair and intelligible exposition; and of which it now remains to be seen how far the principle on which he sets out is conformable to the broad line of justice, and how far the golden fruits which he anticipates will bear the test of impartial inquiry.

“ I. In the first place, it may serve, though in itself not very material to the question, to show the accuracy of the statements which are most generally received concerning the English Church, to examine the *real numbers* of the Protestant episcopal clergy, and how nearly they approach to the estimate of 18,000, which Mr. Colquhoun, and other writers of the same description, have assigned to them. The question is one of no great difficulty, inasmuch as the names of all English and Welch *incumbents* are contained in an alphabetical list at the end of the Clerical Directory, while the Red Book informs us of the *dignitaries*, and a comparison of the two will readily inform us of the names which both these lists enjoy in common; and the result of this comparison will be found to be, that the beneficed and dignified Clergy of

England and Wales amount to about 6700; but the stipendiary curates, from the best enquiries in our power, are greatly over-rated at 2000 more: and, as no man can be ordained in England without a title, either arising from a benefice, a curacy, or the fellowship of a college, as the total number of fellowships in Oxford and Cambridge does not exceed 800, of whom barely one-half are ordained, and two-thirds of those included in the list of curates or incumbents, it follows that the entire number of clerical persons falls short of 9000, instead of reaching to 18,000; while of those 9000, 2000 at least are supported, it should be borne in mind, neither by tithes nor lands, but by stipends paid by their more wealthy brethren. So much for the first alleged *fact* of the enormous multitude of clergymen in England and Wales.

“ II. When, however, he goes on to state that, taking the whole country through, a single clergyman may suffice for 1800 hearers, it becomes necessary to examine still further the principle on which he proceeds, and to call the recollection of our readers to the duties which every clergyman has to perform, and which *are* actually performed by the very great majority of English episcopal clergy. The double service and double sermon on Sunday is a very small part of this duty. He has to baptize, to bury, to visit the sick, to admonish the immoral, to inspect the schools, to hear the complaints and assist, so far as his means extend, the wants of the district allotted to him. Are these duties unnecessary?—that will not be pretended. Are they insufficiently performed and too often neglected?—this calls for the exercise of a more severe discipline over the labourers now employed, rather than such a diminution of their numbers as would render a due performance impossible. But that they are not, in fact, either systematically or generally neglected, we appeal to the experience of each of our readers in his own immediate neighbourhood, and would ask of each whether his own parish priest does not competently perform such duties; whether any children remain unbaptized, any bodies unburied: whether any frequent or well-grounded complaints are made of the sick neglected, or the Sunday functions not attended?

And nine-tenths of the gentry of England will, we apprehend, be compelled to answer, that the cases of glaring neglect or gross impropriety are not many ; and that the individuals of whose conduct they are most able to judge are, for the most part, decent, orderly, and diligent.

“ III. But, what shall we say to the assertion itself that a single priest may, taking a whole kingdom through, suffice for 1800 hearers ? Did this writer suppose that all England and Wales were covered with a population of equal density ? That pastoral inspection of 1800 souls in Caernarvonshire required no longer walks than the same number in Mary-le-bonne ?—or, that a parson who might conveniently take charge of the one, could, without wings, or a chaise and four, at all adequately superintend the other ? Has he no mercy on the peasants who are to come five or six miles to Divine Service, to be christened or married ; or, with their deceased friends on their shoulders, to join in the last solemn ceremonies ? The thing would be difficult enough, even if all the dissenters dwelt in one part of the country, and all the churchmen in their separate Goshen, in the remaining half. But when both dwell promiscuously, it is plain that each, supposing this writer’s calculation accurate, must take up twice as much ground, and require twice as much labour as it otherwise might ; and who will assert that 3500 clergymen would suffice for the duties required by 6,000,000 of persons so strangely mingled, and dispersed so widely and irregularly ?

“ IV. Still this is not all.—His estimate of that proportion of Englishmen who belong to the established Church is manifestly and greatly under-rated. The ground on which he himself founds his calculation is, that the licensed places of dissenting worship are about equal in number to the Churches and Chapels of the establishment. Now, when he considers how many of the former are built on speculation, and, when that fails, withdrawn from their original destination ; when he considers the difference in *size* between the usual run of dissenting Chapels throughout the country and the Churches with which he compares them ;—when he con-

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siders the outcry for additional Church-room which has been heard throughout the land, and the crowds by which, wherever a *free* place of worship is opened in connexion with the establishment, that place has been uniformly attended,—he might be led to believe that a methodist meeting may sometimes look full for no better reason than that it is of narrow dimensions, while a Church may seem empty because its area is great for the dependent population ; and that, as no minister can well serve more than one Church on a Sunday, the number of Churches and of ministers, instead of being excessive, is hardly equal to the growing wants of the Church of England.

“ V. The truth is, that those political and religious economists are greatly mistaken who suppose that in England and Wales the great mass of the population is divided into sects irreconcileably estranged from each other ; that, among the lower and middling classes, a churchman or a dissenter never strays into each other’s precincts, or that a great proportion of those who make up the congregation of the ‘ chapel,’ do not also frequently resort to the parish Church and to the ceremonies of their ancestors. We say nothing of the fact that all or almost all *marriages* are celebrated within those walls,—that dissenters and Roman Catholics, as well as Churchmen, are very frequently *buried* in the same place and according to the same forms with their neighbours ; and that there are very few dissenters indeed, who, if they admit of infant baptism at all, bring their children to any other hands than those of their parish minister. But it is well known to every person who has paid even a moderate attention to the state of religious feeling and habits among us, that very many persons who attend the meeting in a Sunday afternoon, have, in the morning, with equal devotion, appeared in the Church and among the number of its communicants ; that the methodists, the most numerous of all those who frequent licensed places of worship, repel, many of them, with considerable asperity, the imputation of having separated from or forsaken the Church of England, and that they seldom fail to pour in their swarm of hearers in every instance where *free*

sittings can be obtained, or where a popular preacher has arisen. Instead, therefore, of reckoning the systematic dissenters at one half of the population, we are persuaded that one-fourth would be considerably nearer the truth ; and that, even of these, there are many who have no great animosity against the Church, and, occasionally, attend divine service there without scruple or reluctance. We are aware that many hot-headed alarmists within the Church, as well as many without her limits, who seek to detract from her usefulness, have, for different reasons, taken a view of the subject directly opposite to ours ;—and we have, therefore, been at some pains to ascertain the truth by a comparison of many different parishes in different parts of the kingdom. The truth is, there is, in England, no *considerable* body of dissenters but the methodists ; and of these, we appeal to their own teachers, whether the number of both denominations amounts to any thing like two millions, at the largest valuation, and including every age. The Roman Catholics, the Baptists, the old Presbyterians, are none of them numerous. The Unitarians are only to be heard of in a few large towns, and the Quakers are the fewest of all. In this, as in every other instance, the smaller party has made most noise and been most active ; but it is only necessary for the friends of the Church to know their own strength, and to exert and increase it by the harmless arts and honourable exertions of popularity and public usefulness, to demonstrate to mankind that the hearts of the nation are still on their side, and that, even of those who have been for a time estranged, the greater number are far from irrecoverable. And this may suffice for that part of our author's statement which relates to the numbers of the clergy.

“ VI. There is another circumstance which we cannot avoid noticing, as it proves the inconsistency of his plan with his own principles and his own assumptions. He sets out, in his title-page and in the opening sentences of his pamphlet, with taking that for granted, which some other religious economists have also supposed, and which, we believe, is pretty generally believed in that country, of all others, where the Church of England is least known, we

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mean our sister kingdom of Scotland,—that the English clergy are divided into two races of men, the dignitaries and the *working clergy*, of whom, as this distinction itself implies, the former are utterly idle, and take no part in the public functions of the ministry. We shall have hereafter occasion to show that this is utterly untrue: —that there is no body of men in the English Church who have not their appropriate and important duties; and that the few sinecures which really exist, are, in nine cases out of ten, made supplementary to the reward of an active discharge of duties elsewhere. But what we would now remark, is the strange inconsistency of this reformer, who, while he would prune down the number and income of the labourers in the vineyard to the lowest possible ratio, would keep up a hierarchy, the utility of which he denies, in very nearly its full amount of numbers and opulence!— But these are points of minor or less general interest when compared with those which follow.—

'Extract from the Account laid before the House of Commons, 1818.

Total number of benefices	10,421
Of those under £150	4,361
Of which no fewer than 1050 fall short of £60 a year each.	

Rental of England and Wales	£32,726,608	15	4
Tithe-free in toto	£8,805,530		
— part	862,960		
Free on payment of modus	539,243		

Remains titheable	23,268,733
Tithes returned to tax-office in 1814	2,732,898

Tithe estimated by the tax-office at one-eighth of rental.—Try the above by this rule:—8) 23,268,733

2,908,591 5. The difference to be accounted for by expenses of collecting, bad debts, &c. Of this, one-third may be supposed to be appropriated on the following grounds:

In Camden's time there were	9284 parishes,
of which were appropriate	3845) 9284 (2
	9284
	— 7690
	— 1594
	— 5439

(Britannia, Introd. p. cxxxiii. Ed. Gough.)



“ Now, though the number of parishes and parochial chapels has been since augmented, this has only been effected by dividing the 5439 which remained in the hands of the parochial clergy; and the amount of great tithes, which has since been restored to the vicarages, is very small. But there is not the least reason to suppose that the appropriated livings were, one with another, *smaller* than those which remained. An inspection of the king's books will rather lead to the contrary supposition, as well as the fact, that the abbots, whom the impro priators represent, are understood to have engrossed the very richest benefices to themselves. It is reasonable, therefore, to believe that one-third of the tithes are alienated from the parochial clergy.

“ But of this third, one-third belongs to the dignified clergy and the universities, which, though lay-societies, may be included	3845
	1282
“ Deduct 1282 from 3845	3845
	1282

“ There remain 2563 parishes in the hands of the laity, or above one-fourth of the whole. It will follow that, of the total amount of tithes—£2,732,898.

“ One-fourth, or 4) 2,732,898

683,224 2 are in the hands of the laity.

“ From this, indeed, the small, or vicarial tithe must be deducted. Now, in agricultural parishes, the small-tithe seldom equals one-eighth of the great. Rate it, however, at one-fifth, to allow for the vicarages in towns, which are, proportionally, more valuable, and it follows that—

5) 683,224	683,224
	136,644
136,644 4	546,580



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the total of tithes, great and small, with which the clergy, the bishops, cathedrals or universities have any concern, is,—

“ Deduct 546,580
 £2,732,898 —————
 £2,186,318

“ To this £2,186,318 must be added the augmentation-lands, purchased for the smaller livings by Queen Ann's bounty, which Carr values at £100,000

Also the glebes and surplice-fees.—These he estimates at £40, on an average, to each parish, most ridiculously; inasmuch as, on an average of the parishes in a very large and wealthy county, they did not amount to more than £10. Putting them, however at the highest, they will be 426,000

—————
 £526,000

“ The revenues of bishops and Cathedral Churches must next be considered.—Of their incomes, however, it should first be noticed, that two-thirds are derived from appropriated tithes, and included, therefore, in the foregoing estimate.

“ The following valuation of the bishops' sees is taken, in default of any official authority, from Debrett's Peerage; a statement founded on common parlance, and, therefore, it may be sufficiently impartial £120,000 0

The Cathedral Churches we should greatly overrate at £10,000 each, since many of them are merely nominal. The Welch canonries are many of them not more than £5 a-year, and the arch-deaconries, one with another, average £60 260,000

“ Deduct two-thirds for tithe 3) 380,000

120,000
 110,000
 100,000
 90,000
 80,000
 70,000
 60,000
 50,000
 40,000
 30,000
 20,000
 10,000
 000,000

“ Remains £126,666 2

2,186,318

£2,312,984

" Or rating, at a fair guess, the tithes held by the universities at £23,000, the sum of £2,300,000 will remain, as the actual wealth of the Church of England.

And hence, to allow for the depreciation of produce, and of land and tithes, which amounts to more than one-third, the income of the clergy will be £1,600,000, or, at most, £2,000,000 yearly.—But the number of incumbents, as appears from the Ecclesiastical Directory, are about 7000.

" Divide—7000) 2,000,000 (

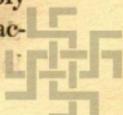
£285—the average income

of the beneficiaries and dignitaries throughout England and Wales. It will not, we think, be said that this is immoderate.

Residence of Clergy.

" There are benefices, of different sorts	10,421
Of these, without glebe-houses	2626
Glebe-houses unfit for residence	2183
4809	
Under	
10£	12
20	45
30	119
40	246
50	314
60	301
70	278
80	251
1566	
" There are livings which cannot singly afford a maintenance to a clergyman, and which, therefore, necessarily imply the holding of two or three of each	

" And allowing two-thirds of these to be included in the list of those without fit glebe-houses, there will remain considerably above 5000 livings, where residence is very difficult, if not impracticable.



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“ There are also many rectories united to bishopricks and deaneries, constituting a large part of their revenues.

“ Of these, those held by bishops are twenty-five.”

* * * * *

The editor has reason to believe that several additional pages of this article were written, but the length of time which has elapsed since it was printed, and the partial destruction which was made of Mr. Gifford's papers, relating to the Quarterly Review, after his death, has rendered their recovery hopeless.

To the Rev. H. H. Milman.

Hodnet Rectory, December, 1822.

“ MY DEAR MILMAN,

“ You were very good to recollect me so soon after your return to England; and you may be assured, that there are few of your friends who heard of your return in health and high spirits with greater pleasure, or who could regret more our not having met (since our orbits so nearly impinged) in Oxford. Your letter found me more than usually busy in cooking Hebrew roots for the diet of my congregation at Lincoln's Inn, and in analyzing some far worse weeds, in different whiggish and jacobinical attacks on the Church of England, for which I am endeavouring to brew an antidote (of which, however, the composer's name must remain a secret) in the next Quarterly. This hurry must be my apology for the delay which has elapsed in thanking you for it; and I can only request you to believe that, more particularly when my curate is from home, and I have the undivided care of Hodnet on my shoulders, I have but too many good reasons for being a very bad correspondent.

“ Of my conversations with the Bishop of London, I have, on the whole, a very favourable account to render. He himself acknowledged and lamented a deficiency in ear; and, accordingly,

being accustomed to judge of metres rather by his fingers than by any other test, he is less tolerant than I could wish of anapaestics and trochaic lines. He was surprised, however, when I showed him that your 'Chariot' for Advent Sunday rolled to the same time with the old 104th Psalm. In other respects his taste is exquisite; though, where my own lines were concerned, I thought him sometimes too severe and uncompromising a lover of simplicity.

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" On the whole, however, we have passed his ordeal triumphantly. He encourages us to proceed, and even suggests the advantage of Psalms, two for each Sunday, from the different authorized versions enumerated by Todd, to be published in the same volume with our hymns. This we may talk over when we meet, which I hope we may contrive to do in January or February next. At present, a muse would hardly venture over the threshold of my study, though she were to come in the disguise of a parish clerk, and escorted by Thomas Sternhold, Esq., Gentleman-Usher of the Black Rod.

" Many thanks for your account of Mrs. Hemans' play. You have shown her great and most judicious kindness, and I verily believe her worthy of it, both in disposition and talents.

" Believe me, dear Milman,

" Very much your obliged friend,

" REGINALD HEBER,"



CHAPTER XXI.

Mr. Reginald Heber receives the offer of the Bishoprick of Calcutta—Correspondence with Mr. Williams Wynn—Receives his Doctor of Divinity's degree from the University of Oxford by diploma—Visits Malpas—His farewell sermon at Hodnet—Departure from Hodnet—His last sermon at Lincoln's Inn, mentioned in a letter from Sir Thomas D. Acland, Bart.—Preaches at St. Paul's before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Consecrated at Lambeth—The Bishop receives the Valedictory Address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—Farewell letters.

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THE editor is now arrived at the most important period of her husband's life—a period to which she cannot recur without acute pain. The quiet private station which he had hitherto filled was to be exchanged for one where his conduct would attract the attention of the Christian world, and where he would become an object of anxious solicitude to many; one for which much was to be forsaken, much suffered, though undoubtedly there was much also to be enjoyed: the comforts of domestic life were, in a great degree, to be given up; his literary pursuits neglected, and the scenes which he loved, the familiar faces that surrounded him, and the society of his mother and of his family, were to be replaced by strangers in a strange land. It will not be uninteresting, and the editor trusts it will be instructive, to trace the feelings and causes which gave rise to this change.

For many years Mr. Reginald Heber had watched with interest the progress made by Christianity, wherever English influence extended; and he assisted, by every means within his power, the exertions of the various religious societies to which he be-

longed ; but more especially to India had his thoughts and views been anxiously directed. With Martyn he had, in idea, traversed its sultry regions, had shared in his privations, had sympathized in his sufferings, and had exulted in the prospects of success occasionally opened to him. Many of Martyn's sufferings and privations he saw were caused by a peculiar temperament, and by a zeal which, disregarding all personal danger and sacrifice, led that devoted servant of God to follow, at whatever risk, those objects which would have been more effectually attained, and at a less costly sacrifice, had they been pursued with caution and patience. He could separate the real and unavoidable difficulties of the task from such as resulted from these causes, and he felt that they were not insuperable.

Without ever looking to any thing beyond the privilege of assisting at a distance those excellent men who were using their talents for the advancement of Christianity, he would frequently express a wish that his lot had been thrown among them ; and he would say, that, were he alone concerned, and were there none who depended on him, and whose interests and feelings he was bound to respect, he would cheerfully go forth to join in that glorious train of martyrs, whose triumphs he has celebrated in one of his hymns. He felt (and on that Christian feeling did he act) that any sacrifice which he could make would be amply compensated by his becoming the instrument of saving one soul from destruction. On the erection of the episcopal see in India, and on the appointment of Dr. Middleton to its duties, his interest in that country increased ; he had long known and venerated the learning and piety of that excellent man, and faithful minister of Christ ; and he now watched his progress through the arduous task which he had undertaken, with deep anxiety.

Besides the concern which he took in the religious state of the East, those regions had a romantic charm in his mind ; he loved to contemplate human nature in every varied form, and his imagination was keenly alive to the terrible natural phenomena of tropical climes, to the magnificence of their scenery, and the beauty and



variety of their animal productions. With the editor he had frequently traced on the map long journeys through countries which he afterwards visited; as well as through those more distant regions of Australasia, and Polynesia, with which, had a longer life been granted him, he would, in all probability, have also become acquainted. It was with this knowledge of her husband's feelings that the editor first heard of Bishop Middleton's death, and that the recommendation of his successor was in the power of their friend, the right honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn, at that time president of the board of commissioners for the affairs of India. She was then on a visit to her father in Wales, and the conviction that her husband's inclinations would lead him to accept of the office should it be offered to him, immediately flashed on her mind. The obstacles to this step were such as, to a less devoted Christian, would have been insurmountable; and even to him they presented so formidable an aspect, as twice to determine his rejection of the proposal. His letters prove the conflict of his mind at this period; but no one, except the editor, can bear witness to the earnestness of his prayers for guidance in the course which he was now to pursue; to his distrust of the motives that had led him to decline the appointment, and to his struggle between a sense of what he believed to be his duty, and his apprehensions for his wife and child, (for of danger to himself he thought not;) his affection for his family, who strongly opposed his leaving England, and the painful prospect of a complete separation from all the early objects of friendship. However, after his second, and, as he conceived, final refusal, his regret for having abandoned what he deemed the path of duty marked out for him by Providence, was so great, that the editor was induced to suggest his retracting, if it should still be in his power. Some family arrangements with regard to his child were also settled to his satisfaction; and the bishoprick continuing vacant, he took that important step which, "to the unwise," may seem to have ended in "misery," yet is "his hope full of immortality."



From the Right Honourable C. W. W. Wynn.

East India Office, December 2, 1822.

MY DEAR REGINALD,

" You will have seen in the newspapers the death of the Bishop of Calcutta. I cannot expect, and certainly do not wish, that, with your fair prospects of eminence at home, you should go to the Ganges for a mitre. Indeed 5000*l.* per annum for fifteen years, and a retiring pension of 1,500*l.* at the end of them, is not a temptation which could compensate you for quitting the situation and comforts which you now enjoy, if you were certain of never being promoted. You would, however, extremely oblige me by giving me, in the strictest confidence, your opinion as to those who have been, or are likely to be suggested for that appointment; and you would add to the obligation, if you could point out any one who, to an inferior degree of theological and literary qualification, adds the same moderation, discretion, and active benevolence, which would make me feel that, if you were not destined, I trust, to be still more usefully employed at home, I should confer the greatest blessing upon India in recommending you.

" Ever most faithfully your's,

" C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN."

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

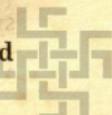
Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 7, 1822.

" MY DEAR WYNN,

" I can hardly tell you how much I feel obliged by the kind manner in which you speak of me, and the confidence which you have reposed in me. I will endeavour to merit both by the strictest secrecy, and by speaking honestly and closely to the points in which you wish for information.

" * * * *

I heartily wish I myself deserved



even a small part of the kind expressions you have used towards me. I will confess that (after reading missionary reports and some of Southey's articles in the Quarterly) I have sometimes been tempted to wish myself Bishop of Calcutta, and to fancy that I could be of service there. Had *you*, as was once reported, gone out to the east, I should have liked it beyond most other preferment. As it is, I am, probably, better at home, so far as my personal happiness is concerned, than in a situation, however distinguished, and however splendidly paid, which involves so many sacrifices of health, home, and friendship. Yet, in my present feelings, and with very imperfect information as to some particulars which, for my family's sake, it is necessary I should know, will you permit me to defer my answer for a few days, till I have been able to consult those whom I am bound to consult on such an occasion,—my wife, my brother, and my mother?

“ If, however, I have misunderstood you, or if any fitter man occurs to you, or any person to whose claims, as a public man, you find it desirable to attend, let me beg you, *per amicitiam*, to set me aside without scruple or delay, and the more so because I do not yet hardly know my own inclinations, much more those of the persons whom I must consult.

“ There is one case, indeed, in which, however anxious I or they may be for the appointment, I should wish you to put me decidedly out of the question; I mean if any eligible person should be found among the archdeacons and chaplains already in India. The time may, perhaps, be not yet arrived for a division of the single unwieldy diocese into three, which otherwise might be done with ease, and with no additional expense, by raising the three archdeacons to the episcopal dignity, and dividing the salary of the bishop among them in addition to that which they already receive. If it were, such an arrangement might, I conceive, add greatly to the improvement and extension of Christian India; while, if the Bishop of Calcutta were made primate, a unity of system and a power of appeal might be preserved as well as at present. But, at all events, it must be a great advantage to a

bishop to have been already for some time conversant with the wants, the habits, and the persons of his flock, his clergy and his heathen neighbours; and the advancement of a deserving man among their own number, might be a very beneficial stimulus to the activity and circumspection of the inferior clergy. Of the present archdeacons, however, I know nothing or next to nothing.

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“ I fear I shall have tired you with my long letter; it is you yourself, however, who have encouraged me; and I hope, nay I am convinced that you will not misunderstand the feelings with which I have written it; but that you will believe me, whatever may be the upshot of the business so far as it regards myself,

“ Dear Charles,

“ Ever your obliged and faithful friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.

“ My wife and child are still at Bodryddan, where I shall not join them till after Christmas. Your letter arrived when I was from home, and I confess I wanted a day to put my thoughts in order. This will, I trust, plead as my apology for not answering you sooner.”

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Hodnet Rectory, December 7, 1822.

“ MY DEAREST LOVE,

“ I found, on my return home yesterday the enclosed letter from C. W. Wynn: his friendship and good opinion are very gratifying; and I will confess I have been a good deal inclined to express, what he does not seem to anticipate, my own readiness to go to India.

“ You may recollect that we have occasionally talked the thing over, though never dreaming that we should ever have the option. I do not think we should either of us dislike a residence

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of some years, (though fifteen is a long time) in a new and interesting country. The present appointment is considerable, and even the retiring pension more than we are ever again likely to receive from Hodnet; and whatever hopes of advancement at home my friends may hold out, we must not forget that their tenure of power is very uncertain, and that they have many claims which they may be compelled to gratify before mine. On the other hand, even 5,000*l.* a year, when we reckon the expences of a voyage to India and a residence there, the probable curtailment of life, and the vastly increased rate of life insurance, will make me a very little richer man, and probably not so happy a one as I may be with even my present diminished income. I know not how India will agree with your health or that of our little darling, or what disadvantage it might offer to her education and prospects. Nor could we either of us, though most happy in each other, take leave, without a very bitter pang, of so many excellent friends, some whom we could not reasonably hope to meet again on earth.

* * * * * * *

These feelings would have at once decided me to be of the same opinion which C. W. Wynn expresses, were I quite sure whether I should not do God more acceptable service by going than by staying here. In the acceptance of *this* bishopric I should be, at least, sure that I was not actuated by secular or unworthy views. I verily believe and hope that I should be of considerable use there by moderating between the two missionary societies, and directing their efforts in accordant and useful channels; and by a removal into an entirely new sphere of action, we should both have the advantage of, in some measure, beginning life anew, unfettered by previous habits and intimacies, and only studious how we might best live to God and to the good of His creatures.

“ Yet here, again, I cannot be sure that I am not drawing a picture to myself which I should find utterly imaginary. If I am idle and fond of society in England, I shall be still more disposed to both in a relaxing climate and in the bustle of a government town. I cannot, without ridiculous vanity, say that my services are *necess-*

sary to the Indian Church, or that plenty of persons may not be found as fit, or fitter to undertake the duty. It is not an unpopular or an unprofitable post; many are anxious to obtain it. Perhaps if I went there, I should keep out some man whose knowledge of eastern languages and customs makes him far better adapted for it; and perhaps, even if I remain as I am, and where I *hope* I am really useful, I am labouring in my vocation more steadily than in searching out new spheres of duty.

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“ There is also another consideration; C. W. Wynn does not absolutely *offer* the situation to me, though he says he should have been willing to name me if it had suited me. And there is a feeling, which I cannot well explain, which makes me very reluctant to ask for a situation myself, in the disposal of which my advice is solicited.

“ Under these circumstances, I shall give what appears to me, at present, the honestest counsel, and which I am happy has occurred to my mind, that, namely, if any of the archdeacons or chaplains now resident in India, and already familiar with the interests and situation of the Church there, are proper persons for the appointment, he should give it to one of them. It seems very desirable for the Indian Church both that her bishop should have some previous acquaintance with his flock, and the people for whose conversion he is to labour, and also that her inferior clergy, by having the prospect of promotion before their eyes, should have a great stimulus to good conduct and activity; I shall tell him the truth that ‘ I am not sure whether some circumstances might not induce me to like the situation myself, if I have not misunderstood the purport of his letter, but that I really think he will best serve the cause by offering it to one of the resident clergy.’ If there is any objection to this arrangement I may possibly hear from him again; but this is unlikely. Should it be so, however, I shall know by this time how you feel; at all events I have thus opened my mind fully to you, and hope, nay believe, that you will not wish me to have acted differently. God bless you dear love!”



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1822.*From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.**East India Office, Dec. 10, 1822.***“ MY DEAR REGINALD,**

“ I not only cannot wish, but I really believe (putting my own personal feelings aside,) that I could not honestly advise you to accept the mitre of Calcutta, considering what your present situation and your future prospects are in this country. At the same time this must be determined by you, and you only ; and I should feel that I was not doing my duty to the millions of India, if I did not afford every facility in my power towards your undertaking the task. * * * * * It appears to me that there is a decided and insuperable objection to the appointment of any of the archdeacons ; and that is, the consequent delay in filling up the see ; any one of them must return for consecration, which would extend the vacancy to two years and a half. This may be a reason for hereafter converting the archdeacons into bishops, but I am sure this is not the exact moment to attempt it.

“ Ever affectionately your’s,

C. W. W. WYNN.”

*To Mrs. R. Heber.**Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 10, 1822.*

“ Your letter is marked with your usual good sense, piety, and affection,—and the readiness which you express to go with me to India, makes me so much the better satisfied with the letter I wrote to C. W. Wynn, requesting time to consider of the business, but leaving either side at liberty to recede ; I, if my nearest relations disapproved,—he, if he found a fitter man, or one whom, as minister, he could not neglect.

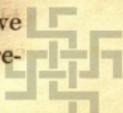
“ For myself I own, as I contemplate the proposed step, my objections to it become less and less, provided it appears that I have the means of securing a provision for you and our child, and

that our parents are reconciled to it. Without the former object secured, I do not think I am called on to go to a service, however important, to supply which there are so many candidates; and without the latter I should not expect God's blessing either on my own prospects, or on my ministerial labours. But with these requisites, I really should not think myself justified in declining a situation of so great usefulness, and for which, without vanity, I think myself not ill adapted, either from a love for the society and friendships of England, or from a hope, which may never be realized, of being some time or other in a situation of more importance at home. This consideration has had great weight with Heber as well as myself; and he ended our last conversation with saying, 'after all it will depend on Emily.' * * * * * On the whole my mind is now perfectly at ease, and your letter has greatly contributed to make it so. My determination, so far as respects myself, is made—and made, I hope and believe, on conscientious grounds. All I now feel anxious about, is the manner in which your father and my mother will feel, and the best way of breaking the subject to the latter. In other respects I am satisfied, however the event may turn out. If God sees it best for us and for others that we should go to India, we shall go; if not, we have abundant reason to be content with His decision, and to rely implicitly on His wisdom and goodness. At all events, I feel thankful to Him for the many blessings which I enjoy, and that your language and conduct on this occasion has been such, my dear wife, as still more to endear you to your affectionate husband."

To Mrs. R. Heber.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 23, 1822.

" The disagreements of doctors are very distressing as well as very perplexing. When I enclosed —'s letter to you on Saturday, I had no doubt remaining on my mind as to the propriety and even absolute necessity of declining the appointment. What I have since heard has not decidedly altered that opinion, but it has re-



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newed my fear of deciding wrong, and made me uneasy lest I should hereafter have to reproach myself with having, through unnecessary fear and want of confidence in God's protection, refused a great and distinguished opportunity of serving Him. Yet I think I am right in declining it; I think we are justified, when the life of so precious a being is concerned, in choosing the safer side.—Supposing that we went to India, and that it was necessary to bring Emily home at ten years old, we shall have been little more than seven years in India, allowing for the voyage and the delay previous to sailing; a time too short to have saved a competency, or to have done much real good in my diocese. I would run this risque cheerfully, if I thought my call to India was clear, or my services there *necessary* to the good cause. But, as things stand, I hope I am justified in drawing back. * * * * *

If I finally come to this resolution, my feelings for my poor mother will certainly have materially influenced me. I went to Moreton yesterday and found her, however, more composed than I had expected; she said she would bear any thing sooner than that I should not do what I thought right; but, as she spoke, she burst into a bitter flood of tears, and said, 'I am seventy-one; I never can expect to see you again.' I told her as before that I did not think I should go, but could not yet pledge myself.

" Make my best acknowledgements to your kind, good, high-minded father. I suspect that both he and you think me more anxious to go to India than I really am. I certainly have wished it strongly; but for these three days I have ceased to think it probable; and I can assure you that its abandonment, if it appears necessary or advisable, will not cost me a moment's tranquillity. Yet certainly I will not abandon it unnecessarily or lightly, and the more so now that I have obtained the permission of our parents. The question lies in a nut-shell, and believe me I will determine it to the best of my ability for your interest, for that of our dear infant, and according to my own sense of what is right and proper. All these considerations, indeed, are in my mind inseparable from each other, nor can I neglect any single one without injuring all.

“ Adieu dear love! pray be tranquil, for I can assure you I am quite so. If I accept the Indian offer, I mean, by God’s help, to do my best to fill the situation properly; if not, I shall, I hope, increase in usefulness at home, though not, perhaps, in an equally extended sphere. But I have no reason to suspect my own motives; and which ever way I determine I shall be content, and heartily glad to get it off my mind.”

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 26, 1822.

“ MY DEAR WYNN,

“ It has occasioned me much regret and no little shame that I have so long trespassed on your forbearance, in delaying either to reject or accept your kind offer. Yet, indeed, a different conduct has been scarcely in my power. I was, at the time, separated from my wife, and my parochial duties prevented my joining her. I applied to two medical men on the subject of the probable effect of a hot climate on the health of my little girl, and received answers so directly opposite, as to make a fresh reference necessary. My mother, my brother, and my father-in-law were all to be consulted; and what, under all circumstances, was in itself no short or easy task, my own mind was to be made up. Under these circumstances I can only throw myself on your indulgence, and express my hope that no material inconvenience has arisen from my indecision.

“ Heber will call on you soon after you receive this letter, in order to settle finally whether or no your kind offer is to be accepted. In some points he is as much interested as I am; and his residence in London, and an interview which he was to have with Dr. Warren, will enable him to determine better than I myself can as to the general eligibility of the measure, and its safety so far as the health of my child is concerned.

“ Yet, I confess, if it is not presuming too far on your friendship, it is by your opinion that I should wish to have my fate

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decided. I am aware that you, in the first instance, advised me against going to India, an advice which would have been at once decisive of my choice, had I not apprehended that it might be given under a misconception of my present circumstances. * * *

* * * * * But though I do not pretend to be indifferent to the power of raising a provision for my wife and child, and though this is the first point on which I should request you to judge for me, I trust you will believe me when I say that there is a second in my eyes of far greater importance. I mean my probable comparative usefulness in India or in England. It has, indeed, been for several years a favourite day-dream of mine, to fancy myself conducting the affairs of an extended mission, and by conciliation and caution, smoothing the difficulties and appeasing the religious quarrels and jealousies which have hitherto chiefly opposed the progress of Christianity in the East. Yet, I will confess, now that my '*chateau en Espagne*' is brought nearer to me, I begin, not unfrequently, to doubt the correctness of my former views, and to hesitate whether I may not possibly be doing more substantial good, and be engaged in a task for which I am better qualified, while filling my pulpit at Lincoln's Inn, and with that chance of further openings of usefulness and advantages which, sometime or other, good conduct in that situation has usually met with. Will you permit me, now you know my circumstances and my feelings, to ask whether you would be still disposed to give me the same advice which you did when I first expressed my wish for the appointment? And might I further ask, as the greatest instance of friendship which I can hope for from you, that you would put yourself in my place and decide for me as for yourself under similar circumstances?

" I have often wished to make this appeal to you before; a wish which naturally arose from my unfeigned deference for your talents and excellent judgement, and from the belief which I cherish most fondly, and for which you have given me abundant reason, of your friendship for me. But—I know not why—I have always shrunk from doing so; and, to say the truth, the probable health

of my child (for of my wife's and my own I have no apprehension) has been the subject which, till within these few days, has almost exclusively engrossed my solicitude. May I now, however, hope to reap the advantage of your superior information and better judgement, and that you will either tell me your sentiments, or (as so much time has already elapsed) deal with me at once as you think best, and for those whom, either in India or in England, it will be my business to try to make better. You may be assured that, however you may determine, that determination will be met by me with perfect confidence and gratitude. My sincerest esteem and regard, my earnest and (I will add) my daily prayers for the happiness of yourself and your family, have long been your's.

“ Believe me, dear Wynn,

“ Ever your obliged and faithful friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

East India Office, December 28, 1822.

“ MY DEAR REGINALD,

“ * * * While I am writing, your brother has come in with a letter from Dr. Warren, which he seems to think will decide you to stay in this country. I can easily imagine how painful and difficult the determination must be to you. * * * I apprehend, from the examples which I have seen, that your child might be safely kept at Calcutta till six, and that at thirteen she might return; in short, that from her sixth to her fourteenth birthday, would be the whole period of her absence from you.

“ Considering her interest exclusively, as circumstances now are, I should, I believe, keep you here; the case, however, might be altered, if your family should increase. In a pecuniary view, I certainly do not think *you* would be compensated for such a sacrifice; but I must, in candour, state, on the other hand, that I do not know of any situation where I believe that your virtues and

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your talents would find an ampler scope for their exertion, or where their effect would be more essentially beneficial to your fellow-creatures. I can truly state, that I believe you most peculiarly qualified for it.

" In considering this subject, it would not be fair to judge the *real* value of any such situation merely from what can be laid by, since the expenditure of a considerable income in beneficial and honourable purposes, is in itself a gratification which you, of all men, are least likely to overlook.

" You will easily believe that I am most alive to the confidence in my friendship and judgement, which disposes you to rest the matter wholly on my opinion ; but, in good truth, it is a decision which no man can make for another. Where a choice is to be made between two certainties or two uncertainties, every one may, on behalf of his friend, estimate their comparative value ; he may be deceived in that estimate, but still it is formed upon the same principle by every one. The balance is the same, though the hand which holds it may be more or less steady ; but where a certainty is to be weighed against an uncertainty, no two persons will suspend the beam at the same point.

" Here then I must leave the subject, and will only advise that, if you continue to hesitate, you should, without any further delay, yourself come to town, as I am certain that half an hour's conversation with those on whose judgement you rely, will be more satisfactory than any possible correspondence. To any of these you are at full liberty to mention the offer in confidence. God bless and direct you,

" Ever most truly your's,

" C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN."



To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet Rectory, Dec. 29, 1822.

“ MY DEAR WYNN,

“ Pray accept my grateful thanks for all your kindness. I am fully persuaded that, both in a worldly point of view, and as a field of active and highly distinguished usefulness, the situation which you have held out to me would be more than I had any right to expect, and greatly preferable to what may come late, or not at all.

“ But I cannot, after Dr. Warren's letter, venture to take out my child to India; and I have no idea that her mother could bear to part with her even for the time you have stated. I shall see my wife on Tuesday, but I do not think it necessary to wait for that conversation; and I feel I have already hesitated too long.

“ I can only then repeat my expressions of most sincere gratitude, and my best wishes for the prosperity and happiness of all belonging to you, as well as that your distinguished talents and many excellent qualities, may long be spared to the country for whose prosperity you labour.

“ Believe me, your much obliged and faithful friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.

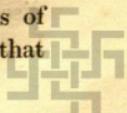
“ I will write to you again from Bodryddan, but I request that if any eligible person occurs in the mean time, you will regard my present answer as final.”

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 2, 1823.

“ MY DEAR WYNN,

“ On conference with my wife and her friends, as well as weighing carefully the advantages and inconveniences of the appointment which you have so kindly offered me, I find that



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the impression which I entertained when I wrote last to you is confirmed, and that I shall consult both happiness and duty best by declining it. That I have received such an offer, and from *you*, I shall never cease to recollect with pride and gratitude.

“ Believe me ever,

“ Your much obliged and affectionate friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

East India Office, Jan. 4, 1823.

“ MY DEAR REGINALD,

“ Till I received your final decision I have been averse to writing further, or in any degree influencing your mind upon the subject; but now that this is formed, I cannot refrain from expressing the gratification which I feel at your remaining in this country, and my conviction that in your place I should have determined as you have done.

“ Ever most faithfully your's,

C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.”

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 7, 1823.

“ I am going to take a strange, and, I fear, an unjustifiable step, more particularly after your kind and gratifying letter of yesterday. I must, however, throw myself on your indulgence, and merely beg you to recollect that my only reason for declining the Indian Bishopric, was the probable effect of the climate on my child. I now find that a friend in this neighbourhood has written to consult a physician, who has had long experience in Bengal, and is reckoned able to speak with more confidence as to the diseases of the country, than any person to whom I have applied. I expect to receive his answer on Thursday. Should you not

have disposed of the situation to any one before this letter reaches you, will it be too much to hope that you will wait till Saturday or Monday, for the chance of hearing again from your obliged and faithful friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

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To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 11, 1823.

“ The report of the Bengal physician, though more favourable than some which we had before, has not so far differed from the results of former enquiries, as to induce me to alter my opinion.

“ This, however, I will say, that, should you really find the difficulty great of procuring a fit man for the situation, and still think me adapted for it, the sacrifice which I would not make for the sake of wealth and dignity, both my wife and myself will cheerfully make in order to prevent any serious inconvenience to a cause of so much importance. I trust, however, that no such necessity will occur.

“ Ever your much obliged friend,

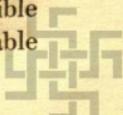
“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Bodryddan, Jan. 12, 1823.

“ MY DEAR WYNN,

“ Since writing to you yesterday, some circumstances have occurred, which would very materially alleviate the objections of my wife and myself against a temporary separation from our child, should such an arrangement be found necessary; and Emily, whose feelings I was chiefly anxious to spare, is now sorry that I have declined the appointment which your kindness has offered me. I feel that what I have twice let go, I have no possible reason to hope for again, and cannot but think it most probable



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that the bishopric is, by this time, in better hands than mine; yet as the situation may be still vacant, I am induced to give you this last trouble, and to say that, should this be the case, I shall accept it gratefully.

“ Should it be otherwise, I beg you to believe that my gratitude for what you have already done will be still the same, and that my chief anxiety at this moment is—not lest I should be too late or unsuccessful in my application—but lest the manner in which, I am sensible, I have trespassed on your kindness, should rob me of any part of your good opinion. God bless you and your's.

“ Believe me ever your grateful friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Whitehall, Jan. 15, 1823.

“ MY DEAR REGINALD,

“ On my return from Audley End this morning, I found your letter, and though rather prepared to expect it from your last, I have not yet sufficiently reconciled my mind to the idea of being for so long a period, and by so great a distance separated from you, to be able to dwell as I ought on the benefits which I anticipate to India from your acceptance of the See of Calcutta. May God protect and guide you.

“ I have had much conversation with the chairman and deputy chairman, and believe that the directors will be disposed to provide you with a house.

“ I will write down to Brighton to-morrow in order to submit your name for the King's approbation.

“ Ever most faithfully your's,

“ C. W. WILLIAMS WYNN.”



From the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

East India House, Jan. 18, 1823.

“ The King has returned his *entire* approbation of your appointment to Calcutta, and if I could only divide you so as to leave one in England and send the other to India, it would also have mine ; but the die is now cast, and we must not look at any side but that which stands uppermost.

“ Ever your’s

“ C. W. W. WYNN.”

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

“ Bodryddan, Jan. 1823.

“ MY DEAR WYNN,

“ For this last, as well as for all former proofs of your kindness, accept my best thanks. God grant that my conduct in India may be such as not to do your recommendation discredit, or to make you repent the flattering confidence which you have placed in me.

“ Your much obliged friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To John Thornton, Esq.

Bodryddan, January, 1823.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ Your kind and gratifying letter followed me to this place, and found me actually suffering under the uncertainty of expectation respecting the very appointment for which you are good enough to regard me as well fitted. It was offered me some little time ago ; and I, in the first instance, declined it—partly on account of the opposition of all my nearest relations, partly from

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the apprehended danger of the climate to my little girl, for whose health the medical men whom we consulted expressed great fears. These obstacles, however, have since been in a great measure removed or softened; and another opportunity of making my choice having occurred to me, I have taken the situation, and my name has been offered for the King's approbation. *or inconveniences*

calm "In making this decision I hope and believe that I have been guided by conscientious feelings. I can, at least, say that I have prayed to God most heartily to show me the path of duty, and to give me grace to follow it; and the tranquillity of mind which I now feel (very different from that which I experienced after having declined it) induces me to hope that I have His blessing and approbation. And as most of my friends tell me, I should have done more wisely, in a worldly point of view, if I had remained at home, I am, perhaps, so much the more ready to hope that it has not been the dignity of a mitre, or the salary of 5000*l.* a year which have tempted me¹.

to B "I often, however, feel my heart sick when I recollect the sacrifices which I must make of friends, such as few, very few, have been blessed with. Yet it is a comfort to me to think that most of them are younger than myself; and that if I live through my fifteen years service, and should then think myself justified in returning, we may hope to spend the evening of our lives together. But be this as it may, I am persuaded that prayer can traverse land and sea, and not only keep affection alive between absent friends, but send blessings from one to the other. Pray for me, my dear Thornton, that my life and doctrine may be such as they ought to be; that I may be content in my station, active in my duty, and firm in my faith,—and that, when I have preached to others, I may not be myself a cast away.

to B "I wish my prayers were of greater efficacy, but, such as they are, your name is never omitted in them!

to B "God bless you, your Eliza and your children! Emily sends

HO ¹ By the depreciation in the value of the secca rupee, the salary was reduced to 4,250*l.* per annum.—ED.

her best regards. Her conduct has, throughout this affair, been every thing which I could wish.

"In the present stage of the business, I do not wish my name to be mentioned. You will observe that the affair is not *settled* till the King has signified his pleasure.

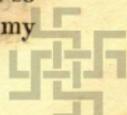
"Your affectionate friend,

"REGINALD HEBER."

To R. J. Wilmot, Esq.

Bodryddan, January 18, 1823.

"It is probable that you may have already heard of my determination as to the bishopric of Calcutta, and that, through the kindness of Charles Wynn, my name has, at length, been laid before the King. At this termination of my doubts, you, I think, are less likely to be surprised than most of my friends, since you have, I believe, more than once, heard me express the liking which I should feel for such a situation. *I think and hope* I have done well in accepting it. It has, indeed, been a serious struggle; and even now I feel my heart sometimes ready to sink, when I look at the sacrifices which I must make of society, of the scenes of early youth, and above all, of friendship. Yet my more serious difficulties have been, in a great measure, removed; my relations, who were, at first, opposed to my going, have, by degrees, softened in their repugnance. All the medical people whom I have consulted consider my wife and myself as likely to stand any climate without injury; and those who are best acquainted with the climate of Bengal tell us that there can be no danger in taking out our child, though it may possibly be necessary to send her back four or five years hence, for some years. In that case the Dean, and Mrs. Yonge have offered to receive her. As to the prospect of eventually obtaining better preferment at home, with which some of my friends have flattered me, I confess I have not so exalted an idea of my own merits, or so firm a confidence in my



own good fortune, as to prefer such a chance to the certainty of an honourable and useful employment. And why should I conceal any part of the truth from such a friend as yourself? I hope I am not an enthusiast; but I am and have long been most anxious for the cause of Christianity in India; and I have persuaded myself that I am not ill adapted to contribute to its eventual success, by conciliating the different sects employed in the task, and by directing and, in some instances, reining in and moderating their zeal. Nor, even as a matter of amusement and interesting study, have I any objection to voyages and travels in a new country. The worst is the length of time which I must be absent; but if I am actively and usefully employed, this may be well endured when the pang of parting is once over; and the excellent friends whom I leave behind are, happily, most of them so young as to afford me good hopes of being able, after all, to pass the evening of life in their society.

“God bless you, my dear friend, and believe me that wherever I am, my affection, my gratitude, and my heart’s warmest wishes for your prosperity, will ever be alive and active!

“REGINALD HEBER.”

To the Honourable Mrs. Douglas.

Bodryddan, Jan. 19, 1823.

“MY DEAR HARRIET,

“I should have thanked you long since for your truly kind letter, but I deferred writing till I should be able to give you positive information on the subject to which you alluded incidentally; I mean that of the Indian bishopric. I then hardly knew my own mind; still less the wishes of Emily, and of those others whose feelings I was bound to consult; though I had, even then, a strong bias in favour of the situation. * * *

I could not think it right to decline a situation distinguished in itself, and affording an almost unbounded opening for professional

utility, for the mere chance of events which might never arrive, and for the sake of personal feelings of friendship and social happiness. Surely a priest should be like a soldier, who is bound to go on any service for which he thinks himself suited, and for which a fair opening occurs, however he may privately prefer staying at home, or flatter himself with the hopes of a more advantageous situation afterwards. I may also say that for many years, I hardly know how long, I have had a lurking fondness for all which belongs to India or Asia ; that there are no travels which I have read with so much interest as those in that country, and that I have often felt or fancied that I should like to be in the very situation which has now been offered to me, as a director of missionaries, and ministering to the spiritual wants of a large colony.

“ I do not pretend to be above feeling anxiety for the pecuniary interests of my wife and child, and I will fairly own that the prospect of being able to secure something, though but little more than I was likely to do in the present depreciated state of the living of Hodnet, had also its weight with me. But this I can confidently say, and I think you will believe me, is the consideration which has had *least* influence on my decision.

“ This is a long and, I fear, a tedious *exposé* of my motives ; but it has been prompted by some expressions in your letter, and by my desire that you should think of me neither as an enthusiast, nor as willing to sacrifice every thing for a mitre and an increase of stipend.

* * * * * but it is my comfort that those whom I have least hope of seeing again have other children, and, from their resigned and cheerful tempers, are the less unable to bear my absence.

“ That you my dear Harriet may live long and happily ; that I may continue to possess and deserve your regard in this world, and that beyond the grave also our affection may be renewed and enhanced, is the earnest hope of,

“ Sincerely your affectionate cousin,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”



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envied night doubts above to come great not within
since has quibbles in the world, and the world is not
bored at all, and

To the Rev. J. J. Blunt.

Bodryddan, Jan. 21, 1823.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" You will probably be surprised to find that I have recalled my refusal of the Indian Bishopric, and that I have just received intelligence that the King has approved my appointment. The different reasons which have led me to take this step we may talk over when we meet; in a note I have no room for them, and I hope to be again in Hodnet the second week in February. To the parting which must then follow I look forward, I confess, with considerable apprehension, both for myself and for my wife. However, I can say with confidence that I have acted for the best; and even now that the die is cast, I feel no regret for the resolution I have taken, nor any distrust of the mercies and goodness of Providence, who may both protect me and mine, and if He sees best for us, bring us back again, and preserve our excellent friends to welcome us. Among that number I think myself happy to reckon you. For England and the scenes of my earliest and dearest recollections, I know no better farewell than that of Philoctetes.

Χαῖρ', ω πεδον αμφιαλον—
Καὶ', ευπλοι, πεμψον αμεμπτως,
Ενθ' ή μεγαλη Μοιρα κομζει
Γνωμη τε φιλων, χώ πανδαματωρ
Δαιμων, δς ταυτ' επεκρανεν.

" Believe me my dear Sir,

" Ever your's most truly,

" REGINALD HEBER."



To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

St. Asaph, Jan. 22, 1823.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ The uniform kindness which I have experienced from your Lordship, makes me believe that you will hear with some interest that it is, at length, finally arranged that I am to be Bishop of Calcutta, and that I have just received intelligence of the King’s approbation.

“ I know not when I am expected to sail, but trust it will not be till the beginning of June. The intervening time I feel will be but too short to take leave of so many excellent friends in. I hope and trust that I may not be useless where I am going, and that nothing which those friends will hear of me in India will alter the favourable opinion with which they have hitherto honoured me. Your Lordship’s name, and the name of All Souls must ever be associated in my mind with the most agreeable recollections, and the most lively gratitude.

“ Believe me, my dear Lord,

“ Your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To Mr. Joseph Hughes, Parish Clerk at Hodnet.

Chester, Jan. 22, 1823.

“ MY WORTHY FRIEND,

“ You and I have been so long connected by neighbourhood and good will, as well as by other circumstances, that I feel sincere regret at saying that we are at last to part. The King has named me the new Bishop of Calcutta, and I shall have to sail for India in the spring, or early in the summer. I need hardly say that I shall always remember Hodnet with pleasure, and that,



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while preaching to the heathen in a distant country, I shall never cease to pray for the prosperity of my old congregation; the place where I have received so much respect and kindness; where I have passed the best years of my life; and where, if it pleases God to spare me during fifteen years of absence, I yet hope to lay my bones.

“ On this subject, however, we may talk more, when we meet next, which will be the 12th or 13th of next month, on my return from Lincoln’s Inn. My chief business at present is, that I wish, this severe weather, to distribute three waggon-loads of coals to the poor inhabitants of Hodnet parish. * * * * * Two of them, I think, should be distributed at Hodnet for that and the neighbouring townships, and one at Marchamley. I wish you would manage the distribution of those at Hodnet, and I hope Mr. J. Powell, at my request, will undertake the same at Marchamley. I wish you also to consult Mr. Blunt. I forgot to mention it in my note to him, but hope he will excuse me.

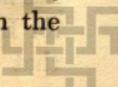
* * * * *

“ With sincere good wishes for the welfare of yourself and your family, I remain

“ Your’s very truly,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

Soon after his arrival in town, where he went to keep the term at Lincoln’s Inn, Mr. Reginald Heber called on an old and valued friend of his mother, who very warmly opposed his plan of going to India, and added, laughingly, “ your’s is the Quixotism of religion, and I almost believe you are going in search of the ten lost tribes of Israel.” He replied, “ perhaps your joke may have truth in it; at any rate, I think I can be of use among the natives; it will be my earnest endeavour, and I am very zealous in the cause.”



To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Lincoln's Inn, January 30, 1823.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I feel much concerned that, owing to my accidental absence from town, your Lordship's truly kind and flattering letter has remained so long unanswered.

“ The wish expressed by your Lordship, and by the Fellows of All Souls, to give my portrait a place in your hall, is an honour which very greatly surpasses my merits and my most sanguine expectations. But, however little reason I had to look for such a distinction, I cannot but feel highly gratified by any thing which gives me a chance of living longer in the recollections of those to whom I am so deeply indebted, and whose good opinion it will be among the first objects of my heart to retain and deserve.

“ May I beg you to offer my best acknowledgements to the resident members of the society, and to believe me,

“ My dear Lord, your and their much

obliged and faithful humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

“ Will your Lordship excuse my mentioning that it is my wish to take my B.D. and D.D.'s degrees either the latter part of this term or the beginning of the next.

“ I am half ashamed to expose my own ignorance on such a subject, and still more so to give you any trouble on it, but may I beg you to let me know what steps I should take for the furtherance of these objects, and how long the necessary exercises, &c. will detain me in Oxford? My stay in England is likely to be very short, and I have so much to do during that time that it is of consequence to me to take these steps, if I can, *en passant.*”



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1823.*To Mrs. R. Heber.**Lincoln's Inn, February 6, 1823.*

“ I am really almost worked off my legs. Except during my brother's election, I know not that I ever passed a more busy fortnight ; but I trust my fatigues are nearly at an end. I have seen the Bishop of London and the Archbishop,—and have had a great deal of trouble in reading and commenting on documents relative to India. My kind friend, the Bishop of Oxford, is exerting himself to prevail on the university to give me my doctor's degree by diploma, which is the highest compliment they can pay ; and the Warden and Fellows of All Souls have written a very handsome letter, desiring me to give them my picture to hang up in their hall. This is a very high and unusual compliment.—Heber advises me to sit to Phillips, as being far less tedious, and but little inferior to Lawrence. I have also a very obliging letter from the Vice Chancellor asking me to preach a farewell sermon at St. Mary's.

“ I have just received your letter.—A Christian establishment in India, unless I can convert them, is out of the question ; except, perhaps, the cook, who may be a Portuguese Roman Catholic, all will be heathen ; and out of so large an establishment as we must have there will be only two women !

“ I hope to leave town Monday or Tuesday.”

To the Honourable and Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

Lincoln's Inn, February, 1823.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ Few honours, I might say none, could be conferred on me which I should feel more sensibly than the great and unmerited distinction which your Lordship informs me I am likely, at your suggestion, to obtain from the University of Oxford ; and if

any thing could add to the pleasure which such an honour confers on me, it is that I am indebted for it to your Lordship's friendship.

“ The favour conferred is of consequence to me in another light besides that of the distinction which it confers, inasmuch as the sudden death of the Archdeacon of Calcutta¹, of which I have just received the news, may make it necessary to set off for India at much shorter notice than I anticipated.

“ Believe me, my dear Lord,

“ Your much obliged and faithful humble servant,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To the Rev. T. E. S. Hornby.

Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 30, 1823.

“ MY DEAR HORNBY,

“ I have, indeed, been culpably negligent in not answering your kind letters, and acknowledging the receipt of the beautiful verses which you sent me. I have been ever since Christmas, and indeed for some time before, in a state of constant employment and mental anxiety, which have left me little time to attend to the calls of friendship. The appointment which you speak of in your last letter, I, after some deliberation, declined, partly from my own unwillingness to leave England, and still more from the concurrent advice of all my friends.

“ Subsequent reflection, however, led me to repent of having, from worldly feelings, declined a situation of so distinguished usefulness; and this regret was still more increased from finding that others, who had been sounded as to their inclinations towards it, had also shown reluctance. I was vain enough to think myself not unqualified to fill it advantageously, and I confess I began, at length, to think it my duty, if it were again thrown in my way, to accept it. I, indeed, give up a good deal, both of present com-

¹ Dr. Loring, who accompanied Bishop Middleton to India, and died, universally and deeply regretted, about two months after his diocesan.—ED.



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fort, and as I am assured, of future possible expectation, and above all, I give up the enjoyment of English society, and a list of most kind friends, such as few men in my situation have enjoyed. Still I do not repent the line which I have taken. I trust I shall be useful where I am going, and I hope and believe I am actuated by a zeal for God's service. I yet trust to retain the good wishes, the correspondence, and the prayers of my friends, and, if I ever return to England, to find that they have not forgotten me. After all, I hope I am not enthusiastic in thinking that a clergyman is, like a soldier or a sailor, bound to go on any service, however remote or undesirable, where the course of his duty leads him; and my destiny (though there are some circumstances attending it, which make my heart ache) has many, very many, advantages in an extended sphere of professional activity, in the indulgence of literary curiosity, and, what to me has many charms, the opportunity of seeing nature in some of its wildest and most majestic features.

“ Above all, I am so happy as to have a wife who entirely sympathizes and concurs with me, and who, I believe, however she shrunk from the idea at first, will now enter on our great expedition with as little reluctance as I shall.

“ As soon as I return to Hodnet, whither I am going to resign my living, sell my furniture and take leave of my relations, you may expect to receive your packet again with some few notes.

“ I expect to sail the beginning of May. I am unfortunately but too sensible that I have lost my character as a good correspondent; but, to receive a letter now and then from you, in a strange land, will be a great comfort to me, and I will promise, as far as I can, to be more regular in my answers than I have been.”

The university of Oxford presented Mr. Reginald Heber with his Doctor of Divinity's degree by diploma, in February, soon after which he returned to Hodnet, where the short time which remained previous to his final departure from the scenes of his youth, as well as of his mature years, and from the home he had himself

formed, to which so many interests and affections had attached themselves, as to render it almost an earthly paradise, was spent in making the necessary preparations for his long absence; in bidding farewell to the parish with which he had been united for nearly sixteen years by mutual good-will and kind offices; in taking leave of his friends and neighbours, and in the yet more painful task of parting from an aged mother, who had cherished him from infancy with a love surpassing that of mothers, and from a sister with whom he had grown up, and with whose idea all his early happiness and early sorrow were associated. The memory of their excellent father, of the brother whose loss they had mourned together, and those thousand recollections of childhood to which we all, at times, look back with indescribable feelings of fond regret, all combined to embitter their separation. But He who called him from retirement to perform His bidding in a more conspicuous station, graciously supported him; and that hope of future happiness which, however distant the period assigned for its completion, has been mercifully implanted in every heart, and which, with all our experience of its fallacy, never entirely forsakes us, disarmed their parting of its acutest sting.

The inhabitants of Hodnet parish raised a subscription, limited to a guinea each, to present their loved pastor with a piece of plate, as a memorial of their respect and affection. The list of subscribers is gratifying and affecting, from containing a number of names, not alone of the wealthy, but of the very poorest class, who, when they gave their sixpences and twopences, gave a considerable portion of their little all. The plate has the following inscription.

TO REGINALD HEBER, D.D.

THIS PIECE OF PLATE IS PRESENTED, AS A PARTING GIFT,

BY HIS PARISHIONERS,

WITH THE HOPE THAT IT MAY REMIND HIM, IN A FAR DISTANT LAND,

OF THOSE, WHO WILL NEVER CEASE TO THINK OF HIS VIRTUES WITH AFFECTION,

AND OF HIS LOSS WITH REGRET.

A.D. 1823.



It was presented to him on the day in which he preached his farewell sermon. The editor can never forget the feelings with which she listened to her husband's parting address, and witnessed the sorrow of the crowded congregation. By the old and infirm it was looked upon as a last farewell ; and even among those whose years might lead them to cherish the expectation of again beholding their pastor, there seemed to be a melancholy foreboding that they should indeed see his face no more on earth !

At Malpas, his birth-place, of which his father was for several years co-rector, Dr. Heber had many friends of whom he was anxious to take a personal leave. In its Church he preached for the first time in his life on the 9th of March ; the sermon he chose was that on "time and eternity," printed, as subsequently corrected, in the volume of "sermons preached in England." During this visit he heard the story, of the truth of which he was afterwards assured, that an officer, having found a dying Indian exposed by the side of the Ganges, in conformity with the religion of the Hindoos, that he might expire within reach of its sacred waters, raised him up, and restored him to life by forcing nourishment down his throat. The man was a Brahmin, and having eaten from the hands of a European, though unconsciously, lost his caste, and was abandoned by his whole family. Being poor he was forced either to starve, or to become a dependent on the officer for subsistence ; the love of life prevailed ; but every morning when he came to the camp to receive his rice, he cursed his benefactor in bitter terms, as the cause of his becoming an outcast from his family and sect. At the conclusion of this story, Dr. Heber exclaimed, "If I am permitted to rescue one such miserable creature from this wretched superstition, I shall think myself repaid for all I sacrifice."

On bidding farewell to his friends, he earnestly requested their prayers in his arduous undertaking. To Mrs. Dod, of Edge, whose family has been mentioned at the beginning of this memoir, he spoke at considerable length on his motives in accepting the Indian Bishoprick, and the objects which he hoped to accomplish ; and,

while he allowed that his decision had caused him a severe struggle, he added, he could never have known peace of mind again had he neglected the call of duty. Mrs. Dod replied, "Well Reginald, (for I never can call you 'my Lord,') God be with you wherever you go. You have done much good at home; and if you ever effect half what you purpose for India, your name will be venerated there to the end of time. I owe you much, and you will always have my prayers for your welfare."

They both felt how improbable it was that they should ever meet again on earth; but though they both looked in trust to a renewal of their friendship in a better world, they could not, from their disparity of years, anticipate that they would be summoned away almost at the same time. He bade her farewell, with the fervent wish that *if* they met on earth, they might be better fitted for Heaven.

Almost the last business which Dr. Heber transacted before he left Shropshire, was settling a long standing account in which he had been charged as debtor to the amount of a hundred pounds; but it was believed by those who were best acquainted with the circumstances, that he was not bound either in law or probity to pay it. As he himself, however, did not feel certain on this point, he resolved to pay the money, observing to a friend who endeavoured to dissuade him, "How can I reasonably hope for a blessing on my undertaking, or how can I commence so long a voyage with a quiet conscience, if I leave even the shadow of a committed act of injustice behind?" About the same time an unknown person sent him a small sum of money through the hands of a clergyman in Shrewsbury, confessing that he had defrauded him of it, and stating that he could not endure to see him leave England for such objects, without relieving his own conscience by making restitution.



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To Augustus W. Hare, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 3, 1823.

“ * * * I take abundant shame to myself for not having sooner answered one of the most gratifying letters which I have received for many months back ; but you will, I am sure, impute my silence to any cause but indifference, either to the intelligence which you communicated, or to the friendship of the kind communicator. It was, indeed, a very great and most unexpected honour which the university conferred on me, and perhaps, the distinction of all others which, if it had been named to me, I should have most desired. * * *

“ Your cousin and I are here in the midst of packing and leave-taking, both unpleasant operations, and the latter a very painful one. I do not, indeed, feel so much parental emotion as many people profess, and as I myself partly expected I should, in bidding adieu to the stones and trees which I have planted. But, besides my mother and sister, and besides the other kind friends with whom I have passed so many hours here, there are, among my parishioners, many old persons whom I can never expect to meet again, and many, both old and young, who evidently lose me with regret, and testify their concern in a very natural and affecting manner. My comfort is, that Emily, who is as much regretted as I can be, and who has, if possible, more ties than I have to bind her to England, now that the first struggle is over, is not only resigned, but cheerful and courageous, and as resolute as I am to look only on the bright side of the prospect.

“ I trust we may find you in Oxford as we go through next month. But as our departure is now definitively arranged for June, I hope that this will not be our last meeting in England.

“ Believe me, dear Augustus,

“ Ever your affectionate cousin,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To the Reverend G. Pearson.

March 6th, 1823.

“ MY DEAR PEARSON,

“ Many thanks for your truly friendly and interesting letter, which, agreeable as it must be to be assured of your continued kind thoughts and kind wishes, has, added to others of the same kind which I have received, rather tended to increase the uneasiness I cannot help feeling in the act of leaving, for a length of time, and perhaps for life, so many and such kind friends as I am blessed with. It is, however, an encouragement of no common value, in the arduous and awful duties which lie before me, that I carry out with me such good wishes and such prayers. Heaven grant I may do nothing to forfeit the one or render the other ineffectual !

“ I feel very sensibly your kindness in offering us a visit, and am much mortified that I cannot, under my present circumstances, avail myself of it. The truth is that our house is a scene of confusion and bustle, partly from the necessary evils of packing, and partly from the intrusions of auctioneers and others of the same description, cataloguing, valuing, and ticketing the furniture previous to our sale, which is to take place the beginning of April. You have been correctly informed as to our sailing in June. I had intended to do so by the first of May ; but this would have landed us in Bengal at a remarkably unwholesome time of year ; and another objection was urged by several of the East India Directors against the measure, since it is thought that the Bishop should make his first appearance, on arriving in India, at head quarters, while the May ships are to stop some time at Madras. In the mean time, I hope to make some little progress in Hindoostanee, and to get some difficulties arranged respecting the Eastern Church, which were a subject of great vexation and embarrassment to poor Bishop Middleton. And above all, having been permitted to read all his letters to the Board of Controul and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, besides a very



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large collection addressed to his private friends, I shall go out with a more complete understanding than I otherwise could have hoped for, of his wishes, and the line of ecclesiastical government he followed. Heaven grant I may be able to imitate his diligence, his zeal, his piety, and his admirable disinterestedness!

" I think with great pleasure of meeting you in London, and shall hope to hear from you, when you have leisure, during my banishment. Above all, do not let your brother return to Calcutta, or any other place where I may be, without letting me see him. The name of Pearson, whether in India or elsewhere, will always sound welcome in my ears. My wife begs to add her best regards and wishes to those of

" Dear Pearson,

" Ever your's most truly,

" REGINALD HEBER."

To the Right Honourable C. W. Williams Wynn.

Hodnet Rectory, March 11, 1823.

" MY DEAR WYNN,

" I have heard from the Bishop of London how kindly anxious you have been for my interests; but I have been unwilling to plague you with letters, even of thanks, well knowing how fully your time is occupied. The following circumstance, however, which has just been communicated to me, seems necessary to be known by my friends, since, even if it cannot be remedied, it should, at least, be borne in mind, when reckoning the present value of the Bishopric of Calcutta.

" Mr. Hodson (secretary to the Archbishop of Canterbury) says, that Bishop Middleton was subjected to the payment of between two and three hundred pounds *ad valorem* duty on his letters patent, an onus not usually borne by bishops on their appointments. He remonstrated strongly, but was obliged to submit. Mr. Hodgson suggests, that, ' as he understands some legislative measure is to be resorted to respecting the terms of my appoint-

ment, a clause may be introduced exempting me from such a payment, the reasonableness of which would be admitted by all.¹ I, of course, am no judge as to the propriety or feasibility of this suggestion; nor do I know the nature of the plea under which the Bishop of Calcutta is made to pay more than his brethren. I should, naturally, be glad and thankful to be exonerated; but if this cannot consistently be done, your kindness may possibly make this unforeseen and unusual expence an additional ground for those measures which you thought of originating in my favour¹.

“ What I am chiefly anxious for is that my travelling expences may be paid, or a sufficient allowance made for them. Without such assistance, both Sir John Malcolm, Dr. Marsden, Mr. Parry, and all the other Indians whom I have consulted, agree, that the bishop's allowance is quite inadequate to enable him to do what he ought, in visiting the different stations in the interior. And, even were the present allowance less insufficient, I should dread being placed in a situation where there was to be a constant struggle between my duty and the interests of my wife and child.

“ Bishop Middleton, it may be well to bear in mind, went out to India with the understanding that his travelling expences were to be paid and a house provided for him; and both these advantages were, in fact, continued to him for the first two or three years, till a doubt arose as to the meaning of the act of parliament. So that all which would be required from parliament would be to empower the East India Company to give their own property away at their own discretion. Still, if it could be done without the *eclat* and difficulty of a legislative measure, it probably might be better.

“ But all these circumstances are better known to you than they can be to me, and I well know how implicitly I may rely on your friendship to do for me all which can be done. And, even if no increased allowance should be attainable, you may rely on my exerting myself to the utmost of my power not to disgrace your

¹ The duty was not taken off.



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recommendation ; and that I will, so far as health allows, visit every Church in the diocese, though I should be compelled to go about in a single palanquin, and to stint my establishment at Calcutta to pay my travelling charges. The only question for the East India Company to determine, will be, whether they will have me appear as a public functionary, or as a private, and not a wealthy individual. In either case I shall, I hope, be useful, and I am sure I shall be grateful to the friend who has so kindly and perseveringly occupied himself in procuring for me more extensive means of usefulness¹. God bless you dear Wynn ! Believe me ever your obliged and affectionate friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

To John Thornton, Esq.

Hodnet Rectory, March 23, 1823.

“ I feel much obliged by your friendly and interesting letters, as well as by the kind trouble which, I learn from Emily, you have taken respecting the piece of plate which my parishioners have subscribed for.

“ It was, I believe, to have been kept a secret from me; but as a question arose both respecting the form and the inscription, the honour intended me came to my knowledge a little sooner than it might otherwise have done. This mark of their good will, in times like the present, is very gratifying and affecting ; and it is by no means the only one which I have met with. In my visits to different cottages, and in my conversations with the labourers in the fields, and by the road-side, the tears have been more than once or twice conjured up into my eyes by their honest expressions of good will and prayers for my welfare. I certainly did not expect to feel so painfully as I have done my approaching separation from my parish ; nor was I at all aware of the degree of regard which these good and kind-hearted people appear to have entertained for me. God bless them ! I cannot help feeling ashamed of an affection

¹ The East India Company agreed to allow the future Bishop of Calcutta a house, and a certain sum for his travelling expences.—ED.

which I have so imperfectly deserved ! There is a pretty stanza in one of Southey's poems, the truth of which has often struck me, but never, I think, so much as to day.

Hand
1823

1st

Oct

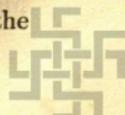
1823

‘ I've heard of hearts unkind—kind deeds
With scorn or hate returning ;
Alas !—the *gratitude* of man
Has oftener left me mourning !

“ We hope to be in Lincoln's Inn the end of April. I believe I mentioned before I left London that I had finally determined to take Mr. Parry's advice, and defer my voyage till June. I hope and trust I have not done wrong in this delay. I shall hope to get some points settled in favour of my powers of ordaining, &c. which, had I sailed sooner, I hardly could have done ; and I shall have a fair prospect of arriving with my wife and child at Calcutta, at a more favourable season than would have been the case had we sailed by the earlier ships. We shall also have more time to give to our preparatory studies, and to taking leave of our friends in London and its neighbourhood.”

On the 22d of April, Dr Heber finally took leave of Shropshire ; from a range of high grounds near Newport, he turned back to catch a last view of his beloved Hodnet ; and here the feelings which he had hitherto suppressed in tenderness to others, burst forth unrestrained, and he uttered the words which have proved prophetic, that he “ should return to it no more !”

At Oxford, where he passed two or three days with his friend Mr. Otter, he was greeted with affectionate interest by his acquaintance who happened to be there, and by others who had come from a distance on hearing of his intended visit, to bid him God speed. To the members of his own college of All Souls, he expressed his sense of the high honour which this society had conferred upon him, in requesting him to sit for his portrait, to be placed among those of the distinguished persons which adorn the walls of their hall.



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The six weeks between Dr. Heber's arrival in London, and the moment of sailing, were occupied in obtaining information relative to his new duties, in attending the meetings of the religious societies connected with India, and in making the necessary preparations for his voyage. So much was he engrossed by these duties and occupations, that he could give but little time to the society of those dear and valued friends, the parting from whom was now the severest pang he had to endure. His last sermon in Lincoln's Inn Chapel, "on the Atonement," was preached on the 18th of May. The sermon has since been printed¹; and this circumstance gives an additional interest to the following letter, written many years after by Sir Thomas Dyke Acland to the editor.

To Mrs. R. Heber.

March 11, 1830.

"MY DEAR MRS. HEBER,

"I came to town to hear the Bishop preach his last sermon at Lincoln's Inn; his appointment to the See of Calcutta being then lately known. I need not say to you what must have been the impression made by that sermon, on the many who had long known and loved him; but no sympathy of others gave me such a heartfelt thrill of satisfaction, as one earnest exclamation from the late Mr. Joseph Butterworth, whom I met in the square after quitting the Chapel, and who could only answer to my enquiries, made certainly with some anxiety, how he had been pleased, 'Oh Sir, thank God for that man! Thank God for that man!' Considering Mr. Butterworth's station and influence among the Wesleyan methodists, and almost the whole body of Indian missionaries not directly connected with the establishment, I felt at once all the value of such an impression upon his mind, both as to the disposition with which the Bishop would be met by these bodies on his arrival in India, and the effect which it was clear his intercourse with them would produce. Besides all this, Mr. Butterworth was really a good man and sincere Christian; and

¹ Heber's Sermons in England, p. 375.

to the sympathy of such, either towards myself or my excellent friend, I could not feel indifferent ; you will, therefore, not be surprised that I have treasured the recollection of that greeting up to this day with no common interest, and, perhaps, given the incident a little more weight than it deserves. And yet I cannot think that I was mistaken in my anticipation of the result. The common feeling which the Sermon of that day diffused through an audience composed of persons of various habits and principles, was comparatively but a light indication of the powerful and salutary influence by which the Bishop conciliated to many good purposes, the active and hearty good will, with the united affections, of the immense, and various, and sometimes conflicting masses, upon which it was exercised, during his whole course in India. I am quite ashamed of having been so negligent in sending you this little story, but must the more beg your kind indulgence to

“ Your very sincere and obliged,

“ THOS. DYKE ACLAND.”

To the Reverend J. J. Blunt.

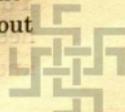
Lincoln's Inn, May 26, 1823.

“ MY DEAR BLUNT,

“ I herewith send you my sermon, which is, as you will easily perceive, pretty nearly as I preached it, as I have really had no time for alteration or improvement¹. I feel but too sensibly that it is not likely to do me much credit in the world ; but if it serves to show my regard and respect for my late parishioners, I shall be satisfied. I have added to it a title-page, dedication, and preface. I am ashamed to trouble you with the correction of the press, but am so busy that you will, I am sure, excuse me.

“ My consecration is fixed for next Sunday, and, as the time draws near, I feel its awfulness very strongly, far more, I think, than the parting which is to follow a fortnight after. * * * I could wish for the prayers of my old congregation, but know not well how to express the wish in conformity with custom or without

¹ The Farewell Sermon at Hodnet.



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seeming to court notoriety. Perhaps, if you will have the goodness to read next Sunday the collect usually said in the Ember weeks for those about to enter into holy orders, some of my kind friends will make the application to *me*. Before our voyage, when I should also gladly have the prayers of the Church, there can be nothing unusual in asking for them; and I request you will be kind enough to say on the 15th of June, that 'The Bishop of Calcutta and his family, being about to sail for India, request the prayers of the congregation.' Mrs. R. Heber unites in best regards; she, I rejoice to say, continues tolerably well. * * * I enclose a letter to ——, which I will thank you to give to him.

" Believe me, dear Blunt,

" Ever your sincere friend,

" REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To Mr. ——.

Lincoln's Inn, May 26, 1823.

" MY WORTHY FRIEND,

" I am about to address you on a subject which has long weighed much on my mind, and which I have often wished to mention. Nobody is more convinced than I am of your good heart, your kindness to your family, your labourers and the poor, your strict honesty and the other good qualities for which you are known and respected in the neighbourhood. Yet there is one point which I would fain see altered in you, and which I cannot help noticing as, perhaps, the last mark of my good wishes for you which I shall ever have in my power to show, now that I am leaving England for a far distant land, and have ceased to be rector of Hodnet. You must be aware I mean your fondness for liquor. Why should you let this one sin get the better of you, and rob your good qualities and your good principles of their reward? You as yet are young and healthy, and therefore cannot say you need drink to keep you in good spirits,—but you yourself well know that neither health nor cheerfulness can long continue to be

the portion of a drunkard. Even so far as this world is concerned, how necessary is it that a man should be sober in order that he may prosper. But, when we think on the other world, can we help recollecting that the drunkard is wasting not only his body and his goods, but his immortal soul? I need hardly remind you how often and how earnestly God has forbidden the practice in Scripture. Of all strong drink we find it observed by Solomon, Prov. xxiii. 32. that 'at the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder.' 'Woe unto them,' saith Isaiah, chap. v. ver. 22, 'that are men of strength to mingle strong drink.' 'Woe,' he says again chap. xxviii. ver. 1. 'woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim.' All the other prophets are full of the same declarations, and the texts in the New Testament are still more awful. 'If that servant,' saith our Lord, 'begin to say in his heart, my Lord delayeth his coming, and begins to beat the men servants and maids and to eat and *drink* and be *drunken*, the Lord of that servant will come in a day when he looketh not for him, and in an hour when he is not aware, and will cut him asunder and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers.' 'Take heed,' He says, in another place, 'lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and *drunkenness*, and so that day take you unawares.' In the same manner St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, bids us 'walk honestly as in the day, not in rioting and *drunkenness*, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying,' where you see he puts *drunkenness* down in the same list of crimes with whoredom and quarrelling, and puts it first of the three because, indeed, it generally leads to the other two. Thus also we find in Gal. chap. v. ver. 19, 20, 21, drunkenness classed on the same footing with the very first sins, and those most hateful to God, such as idolatry and witchcraft and murder. These things will prove to you that a fondness for strong drink is no trifling matter; that it is a crime marked with the Almighty's heaviest displeasure, and for which, no doubt, a very grievous punishment is in store in another world. Do not suppose, my good friend, that I name these things to you out of disrespect or a desire to give you pain;

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we have long been neighbours, and you have been a kind and friendly neighbour to me. I sincerely esteem you and wish you well. But it is because I esteem you and wish you well that I send you this long letter; and I now earnestly desire to call upon you as with a voice from the dead, to the number of whom, in my long and perilous voyage, I may perhaps be added, to desire you to lay these things to heart, to fly from temptation, and to remember that your health and prosperity, your life and immortal soul are in danger if you do not fly from the sin which does most easily beset you! God bless you and guide you! May He turn your heart to see the things which belong to your peace, and give you, in this world, grace and happiness, and in the world to come, everlasting glory!

“ My best wishes are with you! Believe me ever your sincere friend,

“ REGINALD HEBER.”

On the 1st of June Dr. Heber was consecrated at Lambeth, and about the same time he resigned the rectory of Hodnet, which he had only retained thus long in compliance with his brother's wishes. The editor might not, perhaps, have mentioned this, had she not heard a rumour that an arrangement had been made, by which her husband was to receive a portion of the profits of the living during his residence in India. The only agreement on the subject was a promise made by Mr. Heber, the patron of the living, that should his brother be obliged to return home on account of his health before he became entitled to his pension, and have no other preference, he would ensure his taking possession of his former cure.

The last time the bishop preached in England, was at St. Paul's, on the 8th of June, before the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. A few days after he was much gratified by receiving a note from the late Mr. Blades, of Ludgate Hill, expressing his admiration of the sermon, as well as the deep veneration and respect in which he held his character, and the motives which induced his acceptance of the Indian Bishopric, accompa-

nied by a handsome present of glass, bearing on it the bishop's initials and the mitre.

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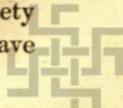
On the 13th he received the valedictory address of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, delivered by the Bishop of Bristol. He was accompanied to Bartlett's Buildings by Sir Robert Harry Inglis. On their way, Sir Robert, to whom the editor is indebted for the fact, asked him to let him see his reply, "assuming that, as at other places, on occasions of form and importance, the speech and the answer would alike be read by the respective prelates." The bishop told him that he had indeed received, by Bishop Kaye's courtesy, a copy of the intended address, but that he had not written his reply, and should trust to the feelings of the moment to supply it. "I was, therefore," Sir Robert adds, "equally delighted and surprised to hear him speak, though with feelings justly and naturally excited, with a command of language, and with a fullness and freedom of thought, and at the same time a caution which became one addressing such a society at such a time, when every word would be watched in India as well as in England. We shall long remember the sensation which he produced, when he declared that his last hope would be to be the chief Missionary of the Society in the East; and the emotion with which we all knelt down at the close; sorrowing most of all that we should see his face no more."

To the Rev. T. E. S. Hornby.

Lincoln's Inn, June 15, 1823.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I have indeed been very negligent. But if you only knew how much I have been worried you would excuse me. It has been only a small part of my late engagements that I have had, since my arrival in London, to write a sermon to be preached at the meeting of the charity children in St. Paul's, and afterwards to be printed, though this has operated as a heavy load of anxiety on my spirits, and swallowed up much time which I might have



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given to those excellent friends to whom I have now to bid adieu. But between the India House, Lambeth, the Board of Controul, and the different Societies for Propagating the Gospel, my days have been quite engrossed; and I have gone to bed for the last month as much tired as if I had been thrashing in a barn. Now, though I have not *finished* all I ought to have done, I have done all which can be done, and seize the first opportunity of bidding you farewell. We embark to-morrow. May God bless, keep, and prosper you, my dear Hornby! may He give you as much happiness in this world as He sees to be good for your soul! and if it be His will to bring me back again to my native country, may I find you in improved health, with the same cheerfulness and trust in Him, and the same feelings of kindness towards myself, for which I am now so much indebted to you¹.

“ I am very well; my wife is thin and harassed, at which I do not wonder.

“ I have got your verses safe in my writing-desk; to read them, and make, perhaps, some remarks on them, will be a very interesting employment during my passage. You may depend on hearing from me soon after my arrival in India, if it pleases God to carry me thither.

“ Believe me, with sincere attachment,

“ My dear Hornby,

“ Ever your affectionate friend,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

To Mrs. Heber.

Lincoln's Inn, June 15, 1823.

“ MY DEAREST MOTHER,

“ * * * * We have now nearly finished our packing, and I have quite got through my preachings, &c. Dear Emily is, of course, low at leaving her friends, but she is well. Our little

¹ Mr. Hornby died in March, 1825.—ED.



darling is quite well again, and I am in as good health and spirits as I can expect to be. I think and hope I am going on God's service. I am not conscious of any unworthy or secular ends; and I hope for His blessing and protection both for myself and for those dear persons who accompany me, and whom I leave behind.

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"God Almighty bless and prosper you my beloved mother. May He comfort and support your age, and teach you to seek always for comfort, where it may be found, in His health and salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord!"

"Bless you dear, dear Mary—you and your worthy husband¹. May He make you happy in your children and in each other, in time and in eternity!"

"I know we have all your prayers as you have ours. Believe me that we shall be, I hope, useful, and, if useful, happy where we are going; and we trust in God's good providence for bringing us again together in peace, when a few short years are ended, in this world, if He sees it good for us;—if not, yet in that world where there shall be no parting nor sorrow any more, but God shall wipe away all tears from all eyes, and we shall rejoin our dear father and the precious babe whom God has called to Himself before us!"

¹ The Reverend Charles Cowper Cholmondeley, now rector of Hodnet.—ED.



The Bishop embarks for India—Divine Service on board—Connection of the eastern languages with those of the north of Europe—Daniel Abdullah—Landing at Calcutta—Accumulation of ecclesiastical business—Archdeacon of Bombay and Mr. Davies—Bishop Middleton's regulations for preaching—Letter to Mr. Davies.

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On the 16th of June, 1823, the Bishop, with his family, sailed for India, "that land of disappointment, and sorrow, and death!" He made several sketches of the southern coast in passing, under one of which he wrote the following quotation.

" And we must have danger, and fever, and pain,
Ere we look on the white rocks of Albion again."

To E. D. Davenport, Esq.

At Sea, July 9, 1823. Lat. 20° 57' Lon. 24° 32'.

" MY DEAR DAVENPORT,

" Your kind note and present¹ reached me at a moment when I had not leisure to thank you for either as they deserved; but I hope you will believe me when I say that I was deeply and sincerely sensible of the regard which they expressed, and of the loss which I have incurred in foregoing the enjoyment of your conversation and confidence. They were circumstances

¹ Philippe de Comines.



and considerations of this kind which have, in fact, made up the main bitterness of my leaving England. To the mere *material, home*, to which, abstracted from all other circumstances, many of my acquaintance profess to feel intense attachment, I do not think I ever affixed any very great value. I have always enjoyed England and Hodnet as much, to all appearance, as my neighbours; yet I never contemplated with any dismay the prospect of leaving, for a good reason, both the one and the other; nor, could I have taken my friends with me, should I have regarded the removal as worthy of a tear. At present, alas, I cannot help feeling, and sometimes very sorrowfully, how much I am, hereafter, to depend on myself, my own resources, and my own judgement; how far I am removed from those whose partial friendship excused my faults, and whose candid judgement might correct them; and that, with a more than usual fondness for society, I have left behind me such a society both in intellect, acquirement, urbanity, and regard to myself, as I cannot, by any possibility, hope to meet with elsewhere. Regret, however, is so obviously useless, that, were I of a less sanguine temper than I believe myself to be, I should, I hope, be too wise to indulge in it. I counted the cost of my undertaking before I made up my mind, and I, happily, am even better able than I expected to fix my attention on ulterior objects, and to look on the past as that of which the best and happiest circumstances may yet be one day renewed; and, friendship excepted, I have as yet heard of nothing to make me regret my secession to India. My fellow voyagers, of whom the senior part have been many years there, all speak of it with an attachment which, though at my age I cannot hope to acquire it in the same degree, yet is enough to convince me that I need not be unhappy there. The more I hear, the more I see reason to believe that, with diligence and moderation, I may be extensively useful; and that, with the precautions commonly in use, not only my own health, but those of my wife and child may fare almost as well as in England. Nor is it a trifle to one who is to pass so much of his future life at sea, to find that, so far as the experience of a three weeks voyage reaches,



with frequent rough weather and a rapid change of climate, I am neither liable to the sickness nor the ennui to which I looked forward, as the almost necessary accompaniments of my present situation.

“ * * * * * Between my Hindoostanee and Persian lessons, the Psalms and chapters which I read to my wife, and the different objects of novelty and curiosity which are offered by a ship and a tropical sea, I have not near leisure enough for general reading, or for keeping the sort of journal which I once intended to do.

* * * * *

“ We have had, on the whole, a fair average voyage, and have reason to be much satisfied both with our Captain, our fellow passengers, and the accommodations of the vessel.

“ We took leave of the high ground near Plymouth on the 19th of last month, and since then have seen no land, except a distant view of Madeira on the 3d instant. This was a little tantalizing, and many of the party were urgent with Captain Manning to stop there, and with me to press him to do so. Some of the wine-merchants in London, connected with the island, had, in fact, made it their request that I should consecrate a Church, which has been lately erected for the use of the factory. This, however, I soon found would, if it were to be done with any thing like the proper solemnity, take up several days of preparation. I had no good reason to believe that the Portuguese clergy would either approve or admit of any such interference on the part of a Protestant bishop; and, above all, I found our Palinurus extremely unwilling, unless a case of real necessity or duty were made out, to risk the loss of his favourable wind, or incur the blame of idle delay from his employers. I, therefore, declined all interference of the kind, and in fact fully agreed with him in his views. Our only hope of a halting place during the voyage, is now the Isle of France, and even there, unless our water should fail, or some other calamity should befall us, there seems no intention of staying. I write, however, this and some other letters, in the chance of meeting a

homeward-bound vessel, and under the apprehension, should such a one appear, of not having my despatches ready in time. From Calcutta I need not say I will write again, or that, I trust, ere I shall have been long there, to receive a letter from you.

“ God bless you, my dear Davenport !

“ Believe me ever your affectionate friend,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

At Sea, Aug. 15. Lat. 35° S. Lon. 2° E.

All well.

To R. J. Wilmot Horton, Esq.

July 9, 1823, at sea, lat. 20° 57'. long. 24° 32'.

“ MY DEAR WILMOT,

“ There is a pretty proverb in the language (the Persian) which I am now beginning to study, ‘ A letter is half a meeting ;’ and though I know not how long a time may elapse before these lines meet your eye, I feel, while I am writing them, though with the tropic between us, some little return of the pleasure which I have felt in our old walks by the Dane and the Trent, and what I would gladly think was an anticipation of those which I may still hope for with you—perhaps by the Trent again.

* * * * * Of my own choice it is rather too early in the day to determine whether I am to repent or no. By all which I hear from my shipmates I anticipate no reason for doing so. They all, so many of them as have been in India, are fond of it ; and though I can already perceive that I am to find in Calcutta a reasonable allowance of those civic feuds and vestry broils to which all provincial capitals are liable, and which seem there to vent themselves through the pages of the newspapers, I cannot give up the hope of being able to steer my course through these jarring elements without any great damage to my own temper or my own tranquillity.

“ Of the sea, on which so large a part of my future life must be passed (more particularly if I carry my Australasian visitations



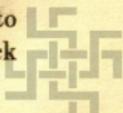
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into effect) I have already some means of forming an opinion, and, so far as I am myself concerned, we seem likely to suit each other perfectly. Though we have had a good deal of contrary weather, and our full allowance of the noble game of pitch and toss, I have not been unwell even for an hour ; and between the various occupations of reading, writing, walking the quarter-deck, watching the flying fish, and learning Hindoostanee and Persian, I have not as yet felt any of that vacuity of time of which I was most apprehensive, and of which others have complained as the worst calamity of a long sea-voyage. The only want I feel is of exercise,—a serious one, and which I know not how to remedy ; merely pacing the deck is nothing. I cannot (*salvā gravitate*) amuse myself with running up and down the shrouds as the young cadets do ;—and though I have a most majestic and Patagonian pair of dumb bells (after the manner of Bengal), I cannot use them in my cabin without endangering my wife and child, and have not yet reconciled myself to exhibiting them on deck, or among the hen coops. My resource, I apprehend, must be to live more sparingly in proportion to my necessary inactivity ; but, as my northern appetite still subsists in full vigour, even this will be by no means an agreeable remedy ; while it is one of which my shipmates seem to have no notion. Most of them every morning begin at half-past eight with a breakfast of cold ham, mutton chops, or broiled herrings ; renew the war at twelve with biscuit, cheese and beer, dine at three in a very substantial manner, tea it and toast it at six, and conclude the day at nine with a fresh lading of biscuit and cheese, and a good tumbler of grog or wine and water. The ladies, indeed, do not leave their cabins before dinner time, and are only present in the cuddy at dinner and in the evening. Yet I hear the clash of knives and forks going on with great spirit behind the bulk-heads ; and have every reason to believe that the weaker sex finds at least as much need of a full and generous diet as the colonels, majors and captains of sea and land. And this (I am assured by many persons) is the custom of India, where 'to eat little and often' is recommended by the best physicians. The

'often' they have certainly hit off to a nicety. Of the 'little' I will only say that if this be the abstinence of the East, it is no matter of wonder with me that some folks leave their livers there.

" Though now decidedly within the tropics, and with the sun to the northward of us, we have no heat to complain of; and, though most people on board have assumed linen or camlet clothes, it has been, I think, as much from fashion as necessity. Till within these few days, indeed, the weather has been decidedly cold; and, while in the latitude of Lisbon and Gibraltar, the captain more than once complained that, if it had not been for the 'blue water,' he might still have fancied himself amidst the cold and 'dirty' weather of the channel or the German Sea. Of this blue water I had heard much, and it certainly does not fall short of my expectation. In bright weather it is, as compared with our green sea, richly and strikingly beautiful, and the flakes of foam streak it like *lapis lazuli* inlaid with silver. Even in storms it has a warmer and richer tint than that of the waves which chased us from Ilbree island towards Parkgate, and enables me to understand more fully than I ever did before the 'wine faced sea' *οιωπα ποντον* of Homer. For the rest I have seen dolphins, flying fishes and a grampus; a whale and a shark have paid the ship a visit, but I was not then on deck. The flying fish are, as yet, very small; and the flocks in which they skim along the surface of the waves give them so much the appearance of water wagtails, that a repeated and attentive view is required to convince a stranger of their actual fishhood.

" After all we did not stop at Madeira. Captain Manning was only authorized, he said, to do so if some real necessity were made out, and as we had a fine wind at the time, it would have been unwise to lose it by a delay which must have been too short to see much of the island. I availed myself, however, of the letter which you kindly procured for me to the consul, so far as to consign to his charge some letters which we had an opportunity of sending on shore by a brig bound for Funchal.—I am called to my Hindooostanee lecture, in which Emily has for some days back



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been sufficiently recovered to join. We are fortunate in having an excellent instructor in one of our fellow-passengers, the same young cadet, Macgeorge, whom Dr. Gilchrist recommended to us in London. The whole vessel is, indeed, a scene of study all morning. Besides our young friend, there is a native sailor on board who professes himself, though in reduced circumstances, a regular moonshee, and gives lectures to several of the cadets and writers; while one of these last is himself a prize-fighter from Hertford, and has volunteered to teach the most ornate style of 'Taleek' writing to as many as shall be disposed to receive his instructions. And when I add that the cuddy table is every forenoon covered with logarithms, sextants, &c. you will see that I have, at least, some chance of becoming wiser from my present expedition.

"Ever your obliged and affectionate

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Rev. J. J. Blunt.

H. C. S. Grenville: N. Lat. 5° 33' Long. W. 15° 15'.

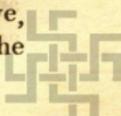
July 22, 1823.

"MY DEAR BLUNT,

"While sending a packet home, I cannot refrain from troubling you with a few lines to thank you for your last kind and friendly letter, and for the pains which you have taken in correcting the press of my farewell sermon. Since I have been on board, I have often, *very often* thought of Hodnet and its neighbourhood; and on Sundays, the recollection has been still more forcibly brought to my mind by the use which, in those days, I have made of my old sermons, slightly altered, and by the contrast of the circumstances under which I now preach them, with the venerable walls, and friendly and well-known faces which surrounded me when I last turned over the same leaves. Yet, here also I have an attentive audience; the exhibition is impressive and interesting, and the opportunities of doing good considerable. The crew are very

orderly, and the passengers, in general, sufficiently well-disposed to acquiesce in the different arrangements which I have suggested for weekly and daily prayers, while the number of persons on board is, I believe, full a hundred and sixty.

" The regularity of our life on shipboard, now that I am accustomed to the hours, and know how to make the most of them, is very favourable for study; and in my attempt to master Hindoostanee and Persian, I have sufficient occupation for all the time which I have at command. My wife is my fellow student, though not my only one. Two of the young men on board, whose progress is not much greater than ours, have shown themselves glad to read with us; and there are two others, distinguished proficients in the languages of the East, of whom the one acts as our regular tutor, and the other has undertaken to become our writing-master. With these advantages, I *ought* to make progress, and some years ago, I am convinced, I should have made rapid way. At forty, however, and with many other cares on the mind, I find it a harder task to learn a new language, than I found it in the days of my French, German, and Italian; and the difficulty is increased by the circumstance that all my previous knowledge is of little or no advantage to me in the pursuit of my present object. Yet, even in these remote tongues, there are several circumstances of interest and curiosity, as establishing, beyond all doubt, the original connection of the languages of India, Persia, and Northern Europe, and the complete diversity of all from the Hebrew and other Semitic languages. Those who fancy the Persian and Indians to have been derived from Elam, the son of *Shem*, or from any body but *Japheth*, the first-born of Noah, and father of Gomer, Mesdeck and Tubal, have, I am convinced, paid no attention to the languages either of Persia, Russia, or Scandinavia. I have long had this suspicion, and am not sorry to find it confirmed by even the grammar of my new studies. As to the literary treasures, by which my labours are to be rewarded, I, as yet, of course, can say next to nothing. In the Hindoostanee, indeed, I have reason to believe, except a few songs and stories, there is no literature. Of the



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former, I have met with some really very pretty, and distinguished by a merit which I did not expect to find in the East, that of simplicity. What learning India possesses is in the Sanscrit only ; and to encounter this, which is strictly a dead language, and perhaps the hardest in the world, I have at present not the least inclination. Of the beauties of Persian poetry, all my fellow voyagers who have tried it are enamoured. The very few specimens which they have been, as yet, able to make me understand, certainly do not do discredit to their judgement ; and here, as well as in the Hindooostanee, I find more simplicity than I expected. But of all these points, ere many months are over, I hope to be a tolerable judge ; and if in a year or two I do not know them both, at least as well as I do French and German, the fault I trust will be in my capacity, not in my diligence. Adieu, my dear Blunt. Let me sometimes have the pleasure of hearing from you. Present my best compliments to your father, and remember me most kindly to any of my parishioners who may enquire after me.

“ Ever your sincere friend,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

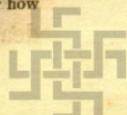
The general details of the bishop's voyage are already before the world ; and the editor will, therefore, merely relate, in his own words, the circumstances which led to his taking into his service Daniel Abdullah, who subsequently accompanied him on his first visitation.

“ I have been engaged in hearing the claims of a native of India on board the vessel, returning to his own country, in a very destitute condition, by order of the Directors. He was once a servant to Sir Gore Ouseley, and pretends to have been a non-commissioned officer in the Company's service, and to have left it for Sir Gore Ouseley's service ; afterwards, having become a Christian and received baptism in London, to have been sent out to India again as a catechist, to have been neglected and ill-treated, and

to have returned to England in despair, as finding himself despised equally by Mahomedans and Christians. He has a fair character from Sir Gore Ouseley for his conduct, dated ten years ago, but no other or later vouchers; is now very ragged, dirty, and wretched, and would have been still more so, but for the kindness of some of the passengers, who have given him clothes and money. I verily believe that the outline of his story is correct, though I expect to find that he has, latterly, behaved ill. It is my purpose, however, to enquire about him, and, if I can, to befriend him. Though furiously prejudiced against him, I know not why, —— allows that the condition of a converted native is, too often, a very trying one; shunned by his own countrymen, and discredited and distrusted by the Europeans; while many of them are disposed to fling themselves entirely on the charity of their converters, and expect, without doing any thing for themselves, that they who have baptized should keep them. Such may be the character of Daniel Abdullah. He is, however, now a legitimate object of compassion. I will fairly own that his present destitute condition is likely with any person, who only hears his side of the story, to throw great disgrace on the Christians of India, both for rashness in receiving him so easily as a convert, and for cruelty in so easily abandoning him to famine and nakedness. He speaks a little English and writes it very tolerably, and is evidently more than usually versed in the doctrines and expressions of the New Testament¹."

The result of the bishop's enquiries proved the estimate he had formed of this man's character, to be, in a great degree, correct, but his abject misery pleaded so strongly in his behalf, that he re-

¹ Abdullah's account of himself, at a later period was, that his father was a native of Câbul, that he had served under Asuf ud Dowlah, and had been appointed by him to a small post in the revenue; that his collectorship had been ruined by the invasion of Scindiah, and that his father died of grief. His mother and brothers lived at Patna, and had been more fortunate than himself: "But," he added, "they shall never know all I have suffered, or how few years of quiet life I have had during the forty-four I have lived."



solved on taking him into his service, and made him his *jemaudar*, or head of the *peons*, a place of importance, but not of much trust. Abdullah was, undoubtedly, grateful for the kindness shewn him ; but his irreclaimable habits of intoxication, after many broken promises of amendment, obliged the bishop to dismiss him from his service, soon after his return to Calcutta from the first visitation. He would not, however, leave him a second time to want, but before he sailed for Madras in 1826, he saw him established in a situation in Calcutta, where he would be too well watched to fall easily again into the same fault.

On his landing in India, the bishop wrote the following prayer :

“Accept, Oh blessed Lord, my hearty thanks for the protection which Thou hast vouchsafed to me and mine during a long and dangerous voyage, and through many strange and unwholesome climates. Extend to us, I beseech Thee, Thy fatherly protection and love in the land where we now dwell, and among the perils to which we are now liable. Give us health, strength, and peace of mind ; give us friends in a strange land, and favour in the eyes of those around us ; give us so much of this world’s good as Thou knowest to be good for us ; and be pleased to give us grace to love Thee truly, and constantly to praise and bless Thee, through Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, our Saviour. *Amen.*”

The Bishop found a much greater accumulation of ecclesiastical business awaiting his arrival than he had expected ; it was such as almost to alarm him, not only by its extent, but by the importance of the questions immediately brought for his decision, and which his complete ignorance of the circumstances of that vast diocese rendered still more perplexing. The two chaplains appointed by the Bengal government, on the death of Archdeacon Loring, to perform the episcopal duties, so far as they lawfully could, during the vacancy occasioned by Bishop Middleton’s death, had, from misunderstanding the powers conferred on the

bishops of Calcutta in the letters patent, declined acting on many points on which they might have legally decided, and which required immediate attention. The consequence was, that the chief affairs of the diocese had been, for some months prior to Bishop Heber's arrival, nearly suspended ; and thus, besides many references and papers which were necessarily left for his decision, a great pressure of business was unfortunately occasioned, at a moment when he required much leisure to consider the various difficulties of his situation, and the peculiar circumstances under which he was placed. Among these references was one relative to a right claimed by Mr. Davies, the senior chaplain on the Bombay establishment, of excluding the archdeacon from the presidency pulpit, except on those days which had been expressly named by Bishop Middleton for his preaching.

It is necessary to mention, for the sake of perspicuity, that Bishop Middleton had appointed the several Sundays and festivals on which he himself proposed to preach annually in the Cathedral, during his residence in Calcutta ; and had also fixed on others for the preaching of the three archdeacons at their respective presidencies, amounting to seven in the course of the year, with the additional clause, that they might " perform such further duty as they might think proper."

These regulations were published at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. At Madras only had they hitherto met with opposition ; but as this happened during Bishop Middleton's life, the question was soon set at rest, in a clear and able letter addressed by him to the chaplains of that presidency, in which the archdeacon's right to the occasional occupation of their pulpit on other days besides those mentioned in the regulations, was distinctly and forcibly confirmed : Bishop Middleton adding also his opinion, that if an archdeacon were to confine himself to preaching only on his appointed turns, he would hardly appear to be actuated by that earnestness and zeal, which ought to be expected from his profession and station. Dr. Barnes, the archdeacon of Bombay, had, in pursuance of these rules, preached on the days appointed, when

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he was residing in the island ; and also, in general, about every third or fourth Sunday between Whit-Sunday and the first Sunday in Advent, without the then senior chaplain calling in question the regulation by which he thought it his duty to do so. When Mr. Davies succeeded to the seniority in 1822, he was officially informed of these regulations, to which he then made no objections. But, early in the following year, when the archdeacon announced his intention of preaching at St. Thomas's Church every third Sunday, as usual, Mr. Davies refused his concurrence to the arrangement, alleging that, " so long as God granted him health, he should be guilty of an awful breach of the duties of the ministry" by allowing the archdeacon to participate in them.

This refusal caused a very unpleasant discussion ; and the business was referred by Mr. Davies to the ecclesiastical commissioners in Calcutta, not only without the knowledge of the archdeacon, but in opposition to his declared wishes, as he did not consider that they were possessed of competent authority to decide on a question involving the validity of the bishop's regulations. They, with great propriety, declined giving an official opinion on a case thus brought before them, observing, that as the successor in the bishoprick was soon expected to arrive, the question should be submitted to his decision. What that decision was, will appear from the following letters ; and the editor has much satisfaction in stating, that the remonstrance addressed to Mr. Davies was followed by immediate submission to the will of his diocesan.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Fort William, November 12, 1823.

" DEAR MR. ARCHDEACON,

" I have taken considerable pains since my arrival in this place, and the receipt of your very interesting and important letter, to ascertain the extent of a bishop's powers in making regulations for the performance of Divine Service, and preaching in the Churches of his diocese. It is on this, as I apprehend, and

this only, that your right must depend to an occasional use of Mr. Davies's pulpit, inasmuch as, though there is considerable presumption, there is no positive proof that it ever has been the custom in England for archdeacons to preach, except in their own cures, or in the Cathedral Churches to which they belong, and of which they are actually members and joint proprietors. And it appears to me that a bishop may clearly, in his purely spiritual capacity, make such regulations; but that the spiritual arms, by which only in India he can enforce them, are so inefficient and unwieldy, as to make it desirable to resort to them with great caution, and only in the last extremity. I have, therefore, sent to Mr. Davies the letter of which I now enclose a copy, in which, as you will observe, I have endeavoured to rest his obedience on his ordination oath, and to urge that obedience on him, in the first instance, as a point of conscience; at the same time, that I have conceded the possibility of re-modelling Bishop Middleton's regulations in a manner more convenient to all parties.

“ Those regulations, indeed, seem to me very susceptible of improvement. It is, I am sure, bad policy to tie either bishop or archdeacon to preach, year after year, on the same seven principal days, since it must compell them, whether sick or well, idle or busy, to compose so many fresh sermons every year on doctrinal and, generally, on controversial topics. And, though nothing can be more conciliating or gentlemanly than the manner in which you appear to have executed the right, yet I can conceive that some longer notice of an archdeacon's intention to preach may be desirable to a chaplain, than that which Bishop Middleton appears to have thought sufficient.

“ What I would myself suggest is, either (what is the practice in the Cathedral of St. Asaph) that the archdeacon, which office is there held by the bishop, should preach, when at home, the first Sunday of every month; or, what perhaps would be better still, that he should (as is the case with the deans in many cathedrals) choose, at the beginning of the year, any twelve or fourteen



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Sundays for his own appearance in the pulpit. In neither case would he be excluded from preaching on week-days as often as he might think fit to establish weekly lectures. All this is, however, for future consideration ; and I only mention it now, both that I may have the benefit of your advice on the subject, as well as that I may explain some passages in my letter to Mr. Davies.

“ I have also, by the advice of our excellent friends, Sir Anthony Buller and Mr. Bailey, written to Mr. Elphinstone, to prevent any misrepresentation which may be made to him of your claims or my own.

“ It may be well, then, I think, that you should again send Mr. Davies notice of your intention to preach in St. Thomas' Church. Should he still be contumacious, it will remain to be considered what measures can be most effectually adopted to bring him to reason. And, in that case, though the result of the proceedings against Mr. ——, in this presidency was such as to make me heartily deprecate any appeal to the consistorial arms, you will, I trust, not find me deficient in a sense of what is due to both of us from those under our spiritual government and superintendance.

“ I have heard with great pleasure a favourable account of your health. Most gladly should I look forward to a renewal of our Oxford acquaintance at Bombay next year. But the claims of the upper provinces of this presidency, which have never yet been visited at all, are necessarily to be first considered ; and there is little probability of my reaching the western coast till the spring of 1825. At present I am fast chained to Calcutta by a large arrear of business.

“ I had the pleasure to see your brother and his family at Christ Church about six months ago, all well and cheerful. He may, possibly, have told you of a scheme which I was then agitating, of removing you, had it suited your views, from Bombay to Calcutta. Indeed, the measures which, when I left England, were going through Parliament in your and my favour, would put such a removal, in your instance, out of the question. Otherwise,

I need not say, how valuable your neighbourhood, your advice, and your society would have been to

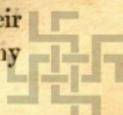
“ Dear Mr. Archdeacon,

“ Ever truly your's,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

“ Since writing the foregoing letter, your second packet has reached me. I feel much obliged to you for communicating to me the additional correspondence, from a part of which, as you may observe, I have borrowed some expressions in the postscript of my admonition. Its main body I see no reason for altering; nor have I time to do more than express my entire satisfaction with your conduct, so far as the evidence before me extends; and my full and unfailing confidence in your judgement, moderation, and good temper. I wish we had more of this latter quality in Calcutta; though I have some reason to hope that my endeavours have, thus far, not been altogether ineffectual in reconciling the feuds of the clerical circle.

“ With regard to the establishment of committees for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I have hitherto understood that Bishop Middleton's plan was rather to carry on his missionary projects through the medium of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as already in possession of the Indian field, and no improper recipient for whatever aid the other Society could supply. Whether his alleged views or your's are the best, I have not yet seen enough of India to determine. It seems, however, to me from some conversation which I have had with the laity, that they already complain of the too great number of subscriptions demanded from them, and that, possibly, to subdivide the claims of the Church still further, would be attended with no advantage. A very good man, Mr. Thomason, has indeed pressed me to blend all the three Church Societies devoted to missionary purposes into one, so far as India is concerned, each corresponding with its own parent stock by means of a separate secretary, but carrying on their deliberations and collecting their funds jointly. There are many



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reasons in my mind why, with regard to the Church Missionary Society, this is not likely to be effected. But I see no reason why the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel should not make the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge the channel of its bounties to India; or why the contributions raised should not be on their joint account, without the apparatus of separate committees, which would, indeed, consist only of the same persons, acting in different capacities. But on all these points I am as yet in much want of information, and shall be grateful for any which you can give me."

To the Reverend Henry Davies, senior Chaplain at Bombay.

Fort William, Nov. 12, 1823.

" REVEREND SIR,

" Since my arrival in Calcutta, I have received a packet from Archdeacon Barnes, enclosing the letters which have passed between you, and referring to my authority the dispute which has arisen respecting his admission into the pulpit of St. Thomas's Church. A similar packet, containing also your own letter to the Reverend the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs in India, has been forwarded to me by those gentlemen with a similar request, that I would undertake the decision of a question in which they had declined, in expectation of my arrival, to give you any definitive answer.

" The papers thus submitted to me I have read with the care which their importance deserves; and it is, I trust, without partiality towards any one, as it is, I am sure, without any unkindly feeling towards yourself, that I would now call your attention to the following observations as to the decision which I feel myself compelled to make, and the grounds on which that decision is founded.

" The question before me would seem to lie within a narrow compass; it is, whether the late Bishop of Calcutta had power to lay down a code of regulations for the performance of Divine Service, and the preaching of God's word in the archidiaconal Church

of Bombay, like that under which Archdeacon Barnes has acted ; or whether a minister in your situation is justified in regarding those regulations as nugatory, and the consequent conduct of the archdeacon, as a violent and unwarranted intrusion.

" On the general propriety of the regulations themselves, and their consistency with ecclesiastical law, (no less than with the utility and credit of the appointment of archdeacon, and the apparent intentions of the legislature in sending out such a clerical officer to India,) it is the less necessary for me to enlarge, since the subject has been already ably discussed by Bishop Middleton himself, in his letter to the chaplains of Madras, of which letter I find Archdeacon Barnes has furnished you with a copy. I would merely observe, that the office of an archdeacon, in its original institution, was by no means confined to that superintendance of the clergy to which you would limit it. He is styled by the canon law, '*vicarius episcopi in OMNIBUS.*' The council of Westminster, while determining the duties of archdeacons, decree '*sub anathemate, in Archidiaconatu resideant CONCIONENTUR, PASCANT*'¹. And it is hard to conceive that Bishop Middleton has erred in assigning to such an important functionary a certain place, and certain definite times for doing that, which, by the practice and precept of the Church, it was peremptorily his duty to do.

" Again, the government of Bombay, by the authority, and under the injunction of the Honourable Court of Directors, assigned, before you had any connection with it, St. Thomas's as the archidiaconal Church, wherein the archdeacon was solemnly inducted to his office, and had a conspicuous place assigned to him. Did, then, the government of Bombay,—did the Supreme Government of India,—did the Court of Directors at home, intend that the officer whom they had liberally endowed, and eminently distinguished, should do absolutely nothing in the Church which they had assigned to him, but watch the conduct of others ? That he should remain an idle pageant, discreditable to the nation which put him

¹ Gibson codex, pp. 1009-10.



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forth, and to the cause of Christianity worse than useless? Or must they not have rather anticipated that their chaplains would readily accept as a relief, and not as an encroachment, the co-operation of a man of distinguished talents and undoubted orthodoxy,—their fellow-labourer in the same cause, and, in future, to be elected from the number of their own fellow servants?

“ I am not, however, compelled to rest the validity of the regulation in question, or its conformity with the archidiaconal office, on the implied intentions of the legislature and of the East India Company. As *episcopal regulations* in a matter wholly spiritual, and where no law either of God or men can be quoted against their execution, they have, besides, (putting the office of the archdeacon altogether out of the question, and supposing them to be made in favour of any private clergyman of unblemished character,) an obligation on all those who profess themselves of the same communion, and one which a conscientious clergyman of that communion should be the last to impugn or undervalue.

“ That the pastoral, as well as the corrective and judicial power of the bishop extends over his whole diocese, and that no place of public worship can claim to be of the Church form, from which his presence and doctrine are excluded, is apparent from the nature of the episcopal office as described in Scripture, no less than the strongest authorities of the canon law, and from the practice of the Church in every age since its foundation. On this topic, however, there is happily no occasion to enlarge, since you expressly, and without limitation, admit the right of your diocesan to preach at any time and in any of the Churches in India.

“ But it is my duty to observe that the power of preaching, which the bishop himself possesses, he has a right to delegate to any person in holy orders whom he may think it expedient thus to employ. It is through him that, in the first instance, the commission is derived to preach at all, or to exercise any ministry in the Church whatever. But, *a fortiori*, he who can elevate a layman to the rank of priest, can authorize a priest to preach in any place where he is himself entitled to do so. And as no priest can

preach without the bishop's licence, it would seem a remarkable inconsistency in any one thus situated, to deny in another the validity of that appointment to which he himself owes all the spiritual rights of his station.

" It is, indeed, a well known fact in English ecclesiastical history, from the earliest times down, I believe, to the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, that nothing was more common than the appointment of itinerant preachers, who went from Church to Church under the authority of episcopal licence. Such men are required by the constitutions of Arundel, to exhibit their credentials before the parish priests shall admit them into their pulpits ; but the whole tenour of those constitutions implies that such a licence, when exhibited, was to be effectual. Nor do I apprehend that in a Christian country, except by some strange misconception, would any minister be found to object to the moderate exercise of a power so obviously tending to the edification of the Church, to the diffusion of Christian knowledge, to the emulation, improvement, and personal ease of the minister himself whose obedience is demanded.

" You, Sir, indeed, in your first letter to Archdeacon Barnes, would seem to treat your resistance as a matter of *conscience*, and to regard it as a crime to yield your pulpit, even for a single Sunday morning, to any other person, however qualified and recommended. Of such a notion I am inclined to hope that more mature consideration may have shown you the inadmissibility. It supposes, if it be good for any thing, that no other person but yourself is qualified to fill the place in question ; and that your own silence in the Church, for however short a period, would endanger the souls under your charge. Allow me to say that, even if you were an inspired teacher, you could have no right to hold such language. The rule of St. Paul is plain, that a minister of the Gospel, however gifted, ought to be willing to learn as well as apt to teach ; and that the presbyters in the same Church, whether inspired or no, ought meekly to make way for one another. ' Ye may all prophecy one by one, that all may learn and all may be comforted,

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and the spirits of the prophets are subject unto the prophets ; for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace in all the Churches of the saints.'

" There is, indeed, one instance on record (but it is an instance which you will hardly accept as favourable to your cause) in which an Asiatic bishop complains of an arrogant presbyter, who refused to receive into the Church those who went forth to be ' fellow helpers of the truth ' . I am far, God knows, from desiring to impute to you the motives or the guilt of Diotrephe. I do not, I cannot forget the awful distance between *his* offence who resisted an inspired apostle, and *his* error, who questions the right of a short-sighted and sinful person, his fellow transgressor, and (it may be with far less success than himself) his fellow labourer in the Gospel. But though the worthiness of the person differs, and though the spiritual gifts have been withdrawn, the commission from Christ is still, as I apprehend, the same ; and it is the *official capacity* of a bishop which (however imperfect his life, and his attainments however humble,) entitles his regulations to the respect and obedience of his clergy.

" The authority of a bishop, unless where accidentally invested with a different and adscititious character, is, however, I am well aware, altogether of a *spiritual nature* ; over the civil rights and temporal property of his clergy, he, as a bishop, has no controul. And in those countries where the ministers of religion have been endowed by the munificence of the civil power, or where they have been clothed by that power with the formalities of temporal judges, and their sentences backed by a host of secular enactments and penalties, it was competent for the state to lay what condition it

¹ 3 John 8, 9, 10. " We therefore ought to receive such that we might be fellow helpers to the truth

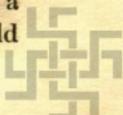
" I wrote unto the Church, but Diotrephe, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not.

" Wherefore, if I come, I will remember the deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words ; and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the Church."

pleased on the acceptance of its bounty. And thus have arisen in our own country a multitude of immunities, restrictions, and injunctions, partly designed to prevent the abuses of ecclesiastical power, and partly to encrease the sphere of its activity, which if a bishop violates, he may be lawfully and conscientiously opposed by any clergyman, whose property or chartered rights are wounded.

“ The writ of a bishop, I am ready to allow, must not be obeyed when it is in violation of the laws of the land. But those laws must be defined, those chartered rights must be established, before either the one or the other can be pleaded in justification of disobedience. Of spiritual power itself (it is necessary to bear in mind) the state is not the fountain. A bishop, as such, is not the creature of the civil magistrate. His authority existed before the civil power had recognized him; it existed while the civil sword was bared against him in its fiercest cruelty; it is recognized as existing already and independently of the civil power, in those very enactments whereby the civil power controuls and regulates its exercise. And whether it is found in a state of depression and discountenance, as in the episcopal Church of Scotland, or in a state of persecution, as in the episcopal Church of Greece, or altogether unconnected with the civil institutions of the land, as in the episcopal Churches of North America and Malayalim, it admits no other, and it can seek no nobler source of its authority than that of ‘ as my Father hath sent me, so send I you;’ ‘ whatsoever ye bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven, and whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven.’

“ I am very far indeed from judging those who, from conscientious errour, reject the form of episcopal government. To one common Master they must stand or fall; and my best desire, and my daily prayer to God is, that they as well as we may be found standing on the same divine book before Him. But I am addressing the avowed member of an episcopal Church, who has received his commission to preach from episcopal hands, and whose very continuance in the communion and service of that Church, is a tacit engagement to submit to episcopal authority. And I would



earnestly appeal to your own sense of propriety, whether it is not necessary to the continuance of every religious society that the authority of its rulers, whether one or many, should be respected by its members, and whether the very recognized existence of such a society does not imply the general and abstract right of its rulers to make regulations and bye-laws for its internal administration and government.

" It is not necessary, then, for an ecclesiastical ruler to prove, in each particular exercise of spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, that he is backed by some particular statute of the temporal sovereign ; that his letters patent have expressly provided for the point in dispute ; or that there is a precedent exactly corresponding in the records of a court of equity. Still less is it decent or proper for a minister of the Church to intrench himself, in every instance, behind the letter of the law, and refuse to obey his superior in what that superior has, possibly, no power to enforce by civil penalties. His obedience should be, not for wrath but conscience sake ; his question, not ' can I safely resist ? ' but ' can I legally obey ? ' And, I repeat it, where no known law is broken, no substantial civil right infringed, the injunction of a bishop (whether supported by the specific terms of his patent or not) is binding on the conscience of his clergy.

" If the case were otherwise,—if the power of such a spiritual functionary (unlike the kingdom of his Divine Master) were of this world only ; if he were only to be heard where he was backed by acts of parliament, and surrounded with the pains and penalties of temporal courts of justice, it is apparent that the oath of canonical obedience, which every clergyman takes, with the sanction of the State itself, at the time of his ordination, would be merely an idle form, unproductive of any real authority or Church union. It would be needless to make a man swear to do that, for refusing to do which he must lose his maintenance or be cast into prison. It follows that a possibility at least was contemplated of other questions to be determined, and other regulations to be made. And I really cannot conceive how we are to

understand some of the plainest and least equivocal words in our language, if the oath which you have taken, and which I am persuaded you are, as far as any man, from desiring to violate or to despise, does not imply your obedience to *any* ecclesiastical arrangements of your ordinary, which are not contrary to the laws of God, or the laws of the land, or the vested civil rights of individuals.

" Of the laws of God I have already spoken; and till some opposing statute, or some recorded case is adduced of a contrary tendency, I must continue to believe that the laws of the land, by implication at least, are favourable to my view of the subject. I know nothing more immediately tending to spiritual things than the power of sending labourers into the vineyard, and recommending such labourers, with parental authority, to the friendly reception of their brethren. And you must find some better grounds than a *reported* recommendation of the Court of Directors, or a *reported* pleasantry of Mr. Canning's¹, (both of which, however, I have reason to believe had reference to a very different transaction,) before I shall be inclined to depart from the exercise and enforcement of a right, to which I consider myself generally warranted by Scripture.

" Of the civil and vested rights of individuals, God forbid I should be careless. But by the regulation in question, what rights are wounded? What injury is done to any one? You are well aware that the archdeacon is not empowered to perform, nay, that he is expressly inhibited from performing, any duties for which fees are usually demanded or received. It is hard to say to what amount a court of justice would assess the damages arising to a

¹ For enabling the reader to understand this passage, it is necessary to mention, that Mr. Davies had, in defence of his own conduct, asserted in one letter to Archdeacon Barnes, that " the Court of Directors had explicitly declared their desire, that the controul exercised over their Chaplains should be confined simply to a spiritual jurisdiction." In another, he says, " I beg to subjoin also for your information the opinion given by Mr. Canning, when the matter of Madras, which is precisely the same as that agitated here, and the desire of our late Prelate to extend the authority of his overseers at the Presidencies of India, was communicated to him, he immediately said, ' the law of the land cannot be altered, which it would be necessary to do to meet the good Bishop's wishes.' "—ED.



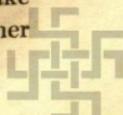
preacher, from his being relieved by his superior from the task of composing twelve or fourteen sermons out of about sixty. And I am assured by the highest authorities in India, that it is highly improbable that any court of law would interfere with a bishop in the moderate exercise of a discretion so purely ecclesiastical.

“ Even in England, then, where the Church of the parochial minister is his freehold, the bishop, as I apprehend, is competent to grant a licence to whom he pleases, for an occasional entrance into any pulpit of his diocese; and the archdeacon, as I have shown, is the person, of all others, in whose favour such a regulation might be expected. But in India, what right have you which can be injured by such a regulation? Your right to the pulpit, and your continuance in that right, are strictly during pleasure. You may be removed immediately to any other station, or no station at all, by an order of the Governor in Council; and the freehold of the Church, so far as such a term is applicable to the case, resides, I apprehend, in the East India Company. But the Company have, by their own act, placed the archdeacon there; and in their deed, preparatory to consecration, assigned it to the purposes of Divine Worship, in the form, and according to the custom of the Church of England. And I have not the smallest reason to suppose that the Court of Directors at home, or any of the local governments in this country, either have objected, or do object, to the regulations made for this purpose by Bishop Middleton. Those regulations have been made more than sufficiently public in all the three presidencies of India. At Calcutta they find a place in the government printed register. At Madras they were, at first, publicly opposed, and have since been quietly acquiesced in. At Bombay they have been acted on without opposition or difficulty, till you yourself, on a groundless scruple of conscience, and on no civil grounds (for those last do not seem to have occurred to you till after you had commenced your opposition) thought fit to resist the authority, and withdraw yourself from the ministry of your diocesan and ecclesiastical superior.

“ To his Excellency the Governor of Bombay, to the Supreme

Government of India, and to the Honourable the Court of Directors, whenever they object to the regulations in question, I shall be ready and willing, with all due respect, to render a reason for my conduct. And I have no fear that I shall fail in convincing them of the propriety of some such measure with that which you object to, and how little such a measure can be regarded as invading the comforts and rights of the chaplains, or their own power and patronage. But, till this occurs, I am bound by a sacred duty to maintain the principle that, where no negative is opposed by the laws of God or man, the power of the bishop in ecclesiastical matters is binding on all such as are of his communion, and on those, surely, above all, whose ordination engagements were a lie to the Holy Ghost, if they were not something more than an empty ceremony.

" If the regulations of Bishop Middleton are practically found disadvantageous, or if they have been, (of which no complaint has been brought before me) so abused as either to wound the feelings or interfere with the convenience of the chaplains, I shall be ready to attend to whatever suggestions you may offer, and shall be far from adhering to any rule which it is obviously desirable to change, or support any ecclesiastical officer in oppression or discourtesy. But, in the meantime, and on the grounds which I have stated, I entreat you, as your fellow-labourer in the Lord, as your spiritual father (however unworthy the name) I advise, exhort and admonish you, that you no longer seek to narrow the usefulness, and impede the labours of your brother,—that you no longer continue to offer to the heathen, and those who differ from our Church, the spectacle of a Clergy divided among themselves, and a minister in opposition to his spiritual superiors; but that you recall your unguarded words; that you recollect your ordination engagement; and even if you are still unconvinced as to the full extent of the claims which your archdeacon and your diocesan possess over you, that you would be ready to abandon for the sake of peace some little of your supposed independence, and rather endure a wrong than violate a charity.



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“ That the God of peace, of order, and of love, may enlighten, direct, and bless you, is the sincere prayer of,

“ Reverend Sir,

“ Your faithful servant in Christ,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.

“ P.S.—There are yet two points which I have not noticed. 1st. The apparent want of respect and meekness in some of your letters to Archdeacon Barnes ; and, 2dly. your breach of the accustomed decorum of your Church in absenting yourself from your usual seat and your regular functions in it, on the occasions when he is present.

“ It is my duty to remind you that the dissensions of brethren are no fit subjects for levity ; that the resistance of an ecclesiastic to his superiors, even if it were just and necessary, should still be a cause of sorrow ; that in no other branch of public service would it be endured that a junior should tell his senior officer that he would act as he pleased, or that he would have no further verbal communication with him ; and that the last time of all others in which a Christian should show disrespect to those in authority over him, is the time when he is personally at variance with them. It is probable, in consequence of what I have written to Archdeacon Barnes, that he will renew the notice of his intention to preach in St. Thomas' Church on some early Sunday. An opportunity will thus be given you of retracing your recent steps, and by a ready compliance and a respectful demeanour, of blotting out the past for ever. For God's sake,—for the sake of His Church, for the temporal interest of your family, which may be greatly injured by the possible consequences of contumacy, and for your own eternal interest, which cannot be safe while engaged in such a struggle, let not this opportunity pass away.”



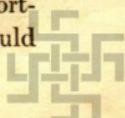
CHAPTER XXIII.

Bishop's College—Its situation and style of building—Collegiate Establishment—Additional land granted to the College—Calcutta Church Missionary Society Association—Scarcity of Chaplains in Ceylon—Christian David—Want of Clergy in India—Native Female Education—Religious Instruction of the Seamen—Suspension Bridge—The Bishop's way of life.

THE interests of the Bishop's College at Calcutta, an institution which will reflect lasting honour on the memory of the first Protestant bishop in India, soon attracted the anxious attention of his successor. It will not be irrelevant to the object of this memoir, to state, shortly, the reasons which induced Bishop Middleton to urge on the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the necessity of such an establishment; the objects which it was intended to further; its progress towards completion; as well as the measures pursued by Bishop Heber for promoting its welfare; with the existing state of the institution.

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In a very few years after Bishop Middleton's arrival in India, he became convinced that the conversion of the heathen would be most effectually forwarded, by instructing them in various branches of European knowledge, without reference being had, in the first instance, to their religious improvement. "Preaching," he apprehended, "must form a prominent part in any scheme for the conversion of these people; but a preparation of the native mind was further required to enable them to comprehend the importance and truth of the doctrines proposed to them; which could



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only be done by the effect of education¹." And he also saw that without the assistance of native teachers, and the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the country, the exertions of our chaplains and missionaries would fail in making any considerable impression on the religious prejudices of the natives. In 1818, he therefore, in reply to a letter from the Society, in which they had requested his opinion on the subject, strongly pressed on them the necessity of establishing a mission college near Calcutta, for the several purposes of instructing both Mussulmans and Hindoos in the English language, and in useful knowledge, having only their temporal interests, in the first instance, in view ; for educating both native and European Christians in the doctrines of our Church, so as to fit them for the offices of schoolmasters, catechists, and priests ; for translating the Scriptures and Common Prayer, and for receiving missionaries sent from England before they were appointed to their respective stations.

This proposal met with the cordial and active concurrence of the Society ; and such was the interest excited among all classes of men in favour of the plans suggested for extending the blessings of Christianity to India, that when the royal letter was granted in 1819, authorizing collections to be made in the Churches throughout England, for the furtherance of these views, the sum collected amounted to upwards of 50,000*l.*

On this important undertaking did Bishop Middleton devote much time, thought, and personal labour. He not only superintended the progress of the building, but himself drew all the plans, and entered into the most minute details of its internal arrangements ; while to his anxiety for its completion may his death, humanly speaking, be in some degree attributed. Although he was not permitted to witness those advantages which he anticipated from the institution, he yet lived long enough to see the exterior of "Bishop's College" completed ; its principal Professor appointed ; and to lay down rules for its future government.

¹ Letter from Bishop Middleton to the Reverend Anthony Hamilton. Calcutta, 16th November, 1818.

The College stands on the right bank of the Hooghly, on a piece of ground granted by Government, about three miles from Calcutta, on the opposite side of the river, and immediately adjoining the Company's Botanical Gardens. It faces the south, from which quarter alone the winds blow during the hot monsoon, and forms a very beautiful object on sailing up the "Garden Reach" of the river. The style in which it is built, the gothic of Queen Elizabeth's time, does not, indeed, suit the climate of India, which requires deep verandahs and venetian blinds to make it tolerable, either of which would destroy the effect of its arched windows; nor does it possess on the plain of Bengal, and surrounded with palms and plaintains, the same charm of association and appropriate structure which belongs to it in England or Normandy. The expence, too, of the building, has very far exceeded the original calculation, and has been, perhaps, more than double what a Grecian building of the same dimensions would have occasioned. But it will remain, so long as Christianity maintains any footing in India, a noble monument to the comprehensive and pious genius of its projector, and to the munificence of the Society which established it¹.

Immediately after Bishop Heber's arrival in India, he undertook the management of every thing connected with the college, and assumed, as visitor, the power of inspecting its internal arrangements. Since the death of its founder, the building had, from various causes, especially from the want of money, been much retarded; but under his inspection, and with the assistance of the annual liberal grant from the Church Missionary Society, its progress was rapid. The first missionaries whom the Parent Society sent out, Messrs. Morton and Christian, arrived in Calcutta soon after the Bishop; but as they could not at that time be received

¹ The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge contributed £5000 towards the building, and soon after the Church Missionary Society voted a similar sum for the same purpose; and has also annually granted, since 1822, £1000 towards its maintenance. The British and Foreign Bible Society gave £2000 towards translating the Scriptures, and Bishop Middleton augmented the building fund by a donation of 4000 rupees.



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into the college, he appointed them to superintend two circles of Bengalee schools, supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, while they were, at the same time, acquiring the necessary knowledge of the languages. In January, 1824, Mr. Mill, the principal professor, with his wife and family, took up his residence in the college; and in the course of the spring, a third missionary from the Society, Mr. Tweddle, and four students were admitted. The chapel was still unfinished; but Divine Service was performed in the library, a long and handsome room, fitted up with stalls, like the Bodleian library in Oxford. Besides the residents, several neighbouring families, and a very respectable congregation from Howrah, an adjoining town, chiefly inhabited by ship-builders, of mixed or Anglo-Indian blood, attended on Sundays, and morning and evening prayers were regularly read throughout the week.

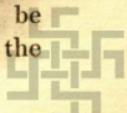
The library, at that time, contained about three thousand volumes, chiefly of the ecclesiastical history of the Eastern Church; of divinity, oriental literature, travels and voyages, and history; a great part of which had been given to it by Mr. Mill. Bishop Middleton had also enriched the collection with some valuable Syrian manuscripts, and at his death he bequeathed to it five hundred volumes from his own library. Not only was the Chapel unfinished, but the printing-house and the dwellings for the native teachers were unbuilt, from want of money, and rooms in the college were obliged to be given up both for the press and the pundits.

In 1825 the Bishop preached at Bombay, Columbo, and Calcutta, on behalf of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, more especially with reference to the wants of the Mission College, and very considerable sums were collected. He intended preaching, also, for the same object, immediately on his arrival at Madras; but on further consideration he delayed doing so until his return from visiting the southern provinces, both that he might acquire a personal knowledge of the state of Christianity in that most interesting part of the country, and also that he might become better

acquainted with those before whom he was to plead its cause. This duty, alas! devolved on his chaplain, Mr. Robinson; and the effect which his preaching produced bore ample testimony, as well to his own eloquence, as to the love and veneration universally felt for his departed friend.

With the money thus obtained, the college works went rapidly on. The second and third professors, Messrs. Holmes and Craven, accompanied by Mr. de Melho, a native Portuguese Indian, who had been educated at Cambridge, and ordained by the Bishop of London for the Society's missions, arrived in the autumn of 1825; and when the editor left Calcutta on the 1st January, 1827, the printing-house, with its requisite apartments for the superintendent, had long been completed; its press was in active operation; the Chapel was finished; and a small native town, the habitations of the teachers, and of the servants belonging to the establishment, had arisen within the precincts of the college. The regular inmates of the college were, at that time, the three professors with their families, two missionaries, and eleven students, one of whom was the Armenian deacon, who had been left under the Bishop's care by his uncle the suffragan Bishop of Jerusalem. The schools at Howrah, Russipugli, and Cossipoor, were attached to the college, and were superintended by Messrs. Tweddle and De Melho.

The land originally granted by Government for this institution, being found too small to admit of the improvements necessary for the health and comfort of its inhabitants, the Bishop, in 1825, applied for and obtained an additional grant of about sixty acres of waste ground, immediately adjoining its western extremity, which belonged to the botanic garden, and had once formed part of an experimental teak plantation. This grant was of immense importance to the college, not only as affording space for a good kitchen-garden, the want of which had long been felt; but as the land was boggy and covered with jungle, the chief exciting causes of fever in India, its drainage and cultivation would greatly increase the salubrity of the station. Sufficient space would thus, also, be obtained for the additional number of native huts, necessary as the



college buildings increased ; an increase which the Bishop contemplated so soon as the funds would admit of its being made. He calculated that the present collegiate establishment would suffice for the education of thirty or forty students ; and that when the first expense of enlarging the building was provided for, the increased annual charge would be as nothing, when compared to the immense benefits that would be derived from it¹. The institution must, undoubtedly, be yet considered in its infancy ; but it has already given promise of what may eventually be expected from its operations.

The Societies for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and for Promoting Christian Knowledge, having each placed their missionaries in India under Bishop Middleton's direction, by whom they had been regularly licensed, his successor wished, before he left England, to see the missionaries sent to India by the Church Missionary Society placed, in the same manner, under his immediate jurisdiction, in common with the other clergy of his diocese. The inconvenience, and, in some instances, the mischief, arising from their not having hitherto received episcopal licences, had long been felt by the members of the Society, who, at that time, expressed their anxious wish that their missionaries should be placed under the same episcopal authority with their brethren in the East. To effect this desirable object, the Bishop applied to the King's Advocate, who gave it as his opinion—an opinion entirely concurred in by the President and the other members of the India Board, that, by the terms of the patent, "*all* clergymen of the Church of England employed in any ministry within the diocese of Calcutta, are subject to the bishop's authority." One object which the Bishop had in view in procuring this opinion was, that the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society might thereby be enabled, with the approbation of their superiors, to assist the regular Company's chaplains in their professional duties, in cases of necessity or strong expediency, which

¹ The editor has the gratification of stating, that, in 1829, two additional ranges of building, in the same style of architecture with the wings, were in progress, for the accommodation of an increased number of students, in furtherance of her husband's views.

hitherto they had not been permitted to do ; without, however, losing sight of the difference between the duties of the missionary expressly appointed for the conversion of the heathen, and of the chaplain whose business it more especially was to attend to the spiritual interests of the European part of the community. The arrangement was the more desirable, as, from the scarcity of government chaplains, and the continual vacancies caused among them by sickness or death, stations were frequently left without a minister, which could thus be temporarily supplied from another source.

Under the sanction of this opinion, the Bishop, on his arrival, required that all the Church missionaries should report their names, appointments, and letters of orders, to the archdeacons of the respective Presidencies, to be transmitted to him, when their regular licences would be made out and returned, in the same manner as was observed with the Company's chaplains. In Calcutta a meeting of the Church Missionary Society Association, which had recently been formed in connection with, and by the friends of the Church Missionary Parent Society, and of which the Bishop was requested to be president, was called on the 2d of the December succeeding his arrival. In the course of its proceedings a resolution was proposed, " that every missionary of the Society should, on his arrival in Bengal, wait on the Bishop for his licence." The Bishop entered at some length into the reasons which had induced him to make the contemplated arrangement in England, and on which, in fact, he had already begun to act, as though, out of courtesy to the Calcutta Association the resolution had been proposed, the opinion given by the King's Advocate was of itself sufficient to authorize his proceedings. All the clergy present, including the missionaries, one chaplain alone excepted, were unanimous for its adoption ; but the greater part of the lay members vehemently opposed it, alleging, among other equally improbable reasons, " that a bishop might refuse his licence, and break up the society."

In fact, these members, who knew but little of the necessary



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rules of an episcopal Church, were not acquainted with the character of the person appointed to superintend the ecclesiastical affairs of India, and were apprehensive that something, they knew not what, was meditated, by what they denominated the high Church party, against their independence. When the question was put to the vote it was lost; the missionaries themselves not being allowed a voice, though their own interests were the most deeply involved. But after the meeting, many of those who had opposed it, told the Bishop they were perfectly content that the proposed resolution should stand as a *bye law* of the committee. With this the Bishop declared himself satisfied, as in fact the concurrence of the meeting was not necessary to sanction his proceedings; and as a bye law, the resolution still continues on the records of the Society.

The editor has given this account of the transaction, in order that the following letter may be more perfectly understood. Mr. Mill (the principal professor of Bishop's College,) to whom it is addressed, was present at the meeting; he had openly declared himself as friendly to the Church Missionary Society, and was most anxious for the adoption of the measure proposed, from a wish to see that ecclesiastical correctness in its proceedings which its name implied.

Unfortunately, the suspicions entertained of the high Church party were expressed too openly, and with too little courtesy, to allow of that cordial union between two parties, each labouring in the same cause, which the Bishop was so anxious to promote.

To the Reverend Principal Mill.

Fort William, December 3, 1823.

“ DEAR MR. PRINCIPAL,

“ I am pressed to-day by more than usual correspondence; yet I cannot refrain from thanking you for your attendance at the meeting yesterday, as well as for the wise and seasonable amendment which you proposed. The manner in which that

was received was not, indeed, such as to encourage your future visits to us ; yet I have many reasons for wishing and hoping that they will be frequent. Many allowances, you know as well as I do, must be made for the peculiar circumstances of India, the novelty of episcopal authority in these countries, and the suspicion, arising from an ignorance of its real nature, with which every claim made by that authority is regarded by those laymen who made up the majority of yesterday's debate. With all such it seems to be my business to proceed calmly ; from all such to bear as much as I am justified in doing, till by a diligent discharge of my more popular duties, I can obtain a patient hearing for my unpopular claims, and prove, as I verily believe I shall be able to do, how much those claims have been misunderstood and misrepresented. In the meantime, as you would observe, I yesterday repeatedly laid claim to the right in question, as that which I had already begun to exercise, and which I should continue to do whether they formally recognized it or no ; and you may have observed also that I refused to receive it (as conveyed in the amendment) as a personal compliment to myself, and not to my official character. I have since had the satisfaction to hear that many, even of those who were not with us, now regret the event of the discussion ; and that if the same measure is brought forward in a form, somewhat altered, in the committee, there is no doubt of its being carried. It is in this hope, notwithstanding the foolish things which were said yesterday, that I have continued in my situation as president ; and it is in this hope that I expect to derive great benefit to the Church from the attendance of yourself and men like you. It is, after all, an object not to be abandoned hastily,—to retain a numerous and wealthy, and most active body of men in the avowed allegiance of the Church, and at a distance from the ready embrace of the dissenters. It is something, much more, to attach such a body in spirit as well as in name, to our forms and discipline ; and it was a source of much encouragement to me yesterday that all the missionaries present, and all the other Clergy, except one, were among our active and anxious supporters.



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“ With these on the side of Church discipline (who only are likely to be affected by it) I have no fear but that a really sound and apostolical discipline may be revived and established; and I confess that I see no place under Heaven where such a discipline is more likely to produce the best effects, or to exist in its ancient purity, than in a Church like the Indian, where pluralities are unknown; where ecclesiastical courts are new and, as yet, blameless of the abominable corruptions which, in England, defile and disgrace them; and where, according to the hint which I gave you when we first met, but which I cannot now venture to speak of publicly, a modification of our old neglected canons may be effected, in which the climate and the change of manners may be consulted, and a nearer approach obtained to those models which bear the united stamp of good sense and venerable antiquity. If I am spared and enabled to lay even the first stone of such a fabric, I feel as if I could say ‘*Domine nunc dimittis.*’ With every good wish for yourself and Mrs. Mill,

“ Believe me, dear Principal,

“ Ever your’s most truly,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

To the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Twisleton, Archdeacon of Ceylon.

December 10, 1823.

* * * * *

“ With regard to the interesting and important subjects mentioned in your letter, I beg leave to observe as follows :

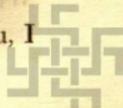
“ I rejoice to say that the difficulty felt by my great and good predecessor, as to recognizing the clergymen employed in this diocese by the Church Missionary Society, (so far as that difficulty arose from their not being licensed by him, and not subject to his jurisdiction) is now removed. 1st. By an opinion given by the King’s Advocate, and entirely concurred in by the President of

the Board of Controul, Dr. Phillimore, and other members of Government, that all clergymen of the Church of England employed in any public ministry within the diocese of Calcutta, are, by the terms of the patent, subject to the Bishop's authority. 2dly. By the ready consent of the Church Missionary Society themselves, to submit their missionaries to episcopal government. I will thank you, therefore, to take measures for informing, through the registrar of your archdeaconry, all individuals of this description resident in Ceylon, to send in their names, stations, appointments, and letters of orders to you, in order that you may certify the same to me, and that I may forward the necessary licences as in the case of chaplains. You may then, without scruple, admit them to assist the regular chaplains, whenever such assistance may appear to you to be necessary and expedient, of course, keeping in view the distinction which should, in ordinary cases, be observed between the duties of a chaplain and of a missionary.

* * * * *

“ With reference to the case of such missionaries preaching Calvinism, I am sorry to learn that a majority of those in Ceylon, are the advocates of its gloomy doctrines; and I am sure I need not recommend to you to give the preference, whenever the power of choice exists, to those who embrace a sounder view of the Divine love, or who observe a prudent silence on topics so difficult and liable to abuse. But on the letter of Archdeacon Owen I cannot help remarking, that I consider his authority as chaplain-general to be of a very different character from that which he has assumed on this occasion; that the spiritual superintendence of the clergy and the Churches of Ceylon belongs to yourself and to the Bishop of the diocese; and that I am perfectly ignorant what right he can have had to dictate either to you, or me, or to Bishop Middleton, whose death was unknown to him at the time of his writing that letter, and whom I conceive he might have safely trusted on any point of doctrine or ecclesiastical discipline.

“ As to the injunction itself which he has addressed to you, I



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conceive that, even in England, the systematic exclusion of Calvinists (*quoad* Calvinists) from our Churches would lead to nothing less than an open schism, more considerable perhaps in its extent, and more formidable in its consequences, than any by which our unfortunate Church has been yet afflicted. But in India, where the harvest is so enormous, and the labourers so deplorably few; where it is with the greatest difficulty that we can obtain a supply of clergymen of any description to administer the Sacraments of the Church, or to celebrate marriages in a canonical manner,—it would be, as it appears to me, most unjustifiable to make the limits of orthodoxy as he would be understood to make them, or to reject the help of men who, however they may hold, on one less essential point, a different opinion from the majority of their brethren, are yet conformists to our Church, of unblameable moral character, and willing, nay anxious, as it appears in the present instance, to submit themselves to episcopal authority.

“ Should any preacher, licensed within your archdeaconry, inculcate Antinomianism, or transgress the bounds of the liturgy and the canons, I am sure I can rely on your reporting the offence to me, in order that the proper steps may be taken to correct or silence him. But, in the mean time, I am persuaded that neither the framers of our articles and canons, nor the great majority of the present governors of our Church, would wish you to adopt such a line of conduct as that which is recommended by the chaplain-general.

“ Believe me, dear Sir,

“ Ever your faithful and obedient servant,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

“ Fort William, Dec. 10, 1823.”

From Dr. Twisleton, the Bishop had previously received a lamentable account of the scarcity of chaplains in that island. On this subject he sent the following statement to his friend Mr. Wilmot Horton, at that time Under Secretary for the Colonial department. “ Ceylon, by all the accounts which I have received, is

one of the most improvable countries in the world, both in a political and moral view. The people have always shown themselves well-disposed to receive education ; and the number of Europeans who need moral and religious instruction, is, as you well know, very considerable. There are, however, so few chaplains on the establishment, that many large stations are entirely without clergy ; and others only receive an occasional supply from missionaries, of whom many, though very good men, are better suited for Indian than European auditors ; and all of whom are, by such arrangements, taken off from their proper work, the instruction of the natives. The garrison of Candy has been only supplied with a chaplain by robbing the less numerous one of Galle ; and in fact, two or three more than the present establishment, were they even always at their posts, would be quite little enough to attend to the spiritual comfort and instruction of the European population."

To obviate, as far as possible, the existing evil, the Bishop recommended to Doctor Twisleton, that Mr. Armour, a resident clergyman in Ceylon, who had been ordained deacon by Bishop Middleton, should be sent to Calcutta to receive priest's orders, without which his ministerial usefulness was materially circumscribed. He also made some enquiries about Christian David, a native catechist, whom he was anxious to ordain, if the favourable accounts he had heard of his character should prove correct. This man was a pupil of Schwartz, and had been long known and esteemed by his countrymen, among whom he had laboured as schoolmaster both on the Malabar coast and in Ceylon, as an exemplary Christian, and possessed of considerable knowledge. The answer which the Bishop received to his enquiries induced him to send for Christian David to Calcutta, where he was ordained a few months after, being the first native episcopally admitted into holy orders in India.



To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Fort William, January 6, 1824.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ It always gives me pleasure to hear from you, but I could never have been more gratified than by finding that you were satisfied with the manner in which I had attempted to maintain the just and necessary rights of the Archdeacon of Bombay.

“ I am happy to be now able to inform you that I have received a letter from Mr. Davies, acquiescing unconditionally in my decision, and that he is apparently prepared to expect a renewal of your notice to preach occasionally, within the limits mentioned by Bishop Middleton, immediately on your return to Bombay. It is only fair to add that he expresses himself in a handsome and respectful manner of you, and disavows any intentional departure from the deference and courtesy which every clergyman owes to his superior. If the offensive meaning of his expressions is disavowed, that may serve our purpose ; and I am sure I need not recommend the line of conduct which I know to be natural to you—of conciliation towards a retreating adversary.

“ I begin to fear, however, that I shall have, ere long, another subject on which to reprimand Mr. Davies ; I mean the establishment, which I see announced in the newspapers, of a floating chapel for seamen in the harbour of Bombay. I am, indeed, strongly inclined to believe that such an establishment may be very useful and desirable ; and I know that some of the best and steadiest friends of our Church in London have regretted that, in that case, the dissenters got the start of us. Still, it is plain that such an institution should not have been set on foot without episcopal licence and sanction ; and from your silence on the subject, as well as that of Mr. Carr, I am inclined to suspect that we have neither of us been consulted.

“ Will you have the goodness to favour me with any information on the subject of which you may be in possession, as also

with your sentiments as to the propriety and expediency of the measure.

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“ Your journeys are, indeed, of an apostolic and truly primitive character ; and it has given me unfeigned pleasure to hear from Poonah and other quarters, of their popularity and the good effects apparently produced by them. I, also, am anxious to travel, but find I cannot leave Calcutta before the rains.”

To John Thornton, Esq.

Tittyghur, Jan. 26, 1824.

“ We are sadly off for clergy in India ; instead of twenty-eight chaplains, the complete number for Bengal, we have only thirteen.

* * * * *

“ I hope my chaplain will arrive ere long ; but, in the mean time, we are in much difficulty, and even his arrival will be a very small help in proportion to the work required. Corrie would willingly work himself to death, but I am obliged to keep him within bounds ; and, indeed, though he can now, and does, undertake one of the stations regularly, I cannot hope that he will be able to do it after the hot weather commences. And all this time there are, at least, ten important stations entirely out of the reach of even occasional help¹. Perhaps if you mention our wants to Mr. Parry and Mr. Grant, their influence with the Directors may obtain some help for us ; though I fear that the Directors themselves cannot altogether remedy the apparent aversion which young men

¹ The greater number of stations in the three Presidencies, to which the Company's Chaplains were licensed by Bishop Middleton, are separated from each other by a distance varying from one to four hundred miles ; all the intermediate country being, generally speaking, without the advantage of Christian ministry. This evil was, in some degree, alleviated by the permission given by Bishop Heber to the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society to officiate in some of these districts, and, occasionally, to undertake the duties of the resident Chaplains. But the want of Clergy in almost all parts of the country was severely felt, and lamented by him in his Visitations.—*Ed.*



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in England entertain to this service and this climate. Yet this aversion seems to me extremely unfounded ; and I am sure that a man of gentlemanly manners and real zeal for religion, will find few situations where he will meet with more kindness and attention, and be more useful than as chaplain to a civil or military station in Bengal.

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Fort William, January 28, 1824.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Your interesting and important packet reached me a few days ago ; but I have been prevented till now, by a severe inflammation of my eyes, from reading it. On the numerous topics which it embraces, I hope to write at some length in a few days. I will now only say, 1st, as relates to Mr. Davies ; as one of your appropriate turns for preaching (Septuagesima Sunday) occurs in February, it is my request that you would not name another Sunday in the *same month*. My reason is, that I was careful, as you may observe by referring to the copy of my letter, to affirm your right to preach according to the limits expressly defined by Bishop Middleton, who states these limits to be ‘once every month in which you have not an appointed turn,’ not including ‘any lecture in Lent delivered on the week days.’ I think you yourself will, on consideration, allow that, as matters now stand, it will be by no means advisable to advance any new claim, or even to exercise an old one in a manner which might provoke discussion, and in which you are not borne out by the letter of the regulation confirmed by me. Your intention to name the Fridays in Lent for your lecture, and the first Sunday of every month, in which you have no turn for preaching, I, of course fully approve of. The alteration which I suggested in the days of the Archdeacon’s preaching, may, I think be very advantageously arranged and pro-

mulgated in the way you mention. Any step which I take in the business I will, however, first communicate to you for the advantage of your opinion.

"I shall be much obliged by your sending me a copy of the resolutions which you suggest. As far as your plan respecting the Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, is developed in your letter, I much approve of it.

"Ever very truly your's,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To N. Wallich, Esq. M.D.

Fort William, Jan. 3, 1824.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Mrs. Heber begs to add her best thanks to mine for the more than kind manner in which you have met our wishes respecting Tittyghur. We only hope that this kindness will not be the occasion of much inconvenience, either to Mrs. Wallich or yourself; and that we may hope during our stay in your house, that both you and she will often favour us with your company in it.

"You will, I am sure, pardon me for asking you how soon we may take advantage of your kindness, when I mention that our poor little girl is by no means so well this morning, and that she shews fresh symptoms of pining for a purer air; my wife is therefore anxious to remove with her into the country time enough to be herself confined there.

"Will you also have the goodness to let me know (in order to facilitate our preparations) what is the number of rooms in your house? Whether they have punkas and floor-mats, and whether we can have the use of a stable and place for our cows? With our united best compliments to Mrs. Wallich,

"Believe me, dear Sir,

"Sincerely your obliged friend,

"REGINALD CALCUTTA."



To Mrs. Charles Lushington.

Tittyghur, February 16, 1824.

" DEAR MADAM,

" From the benevolent interest which you expressed in the success of the native female schools when I met you at the anniversary examination, I am encouraged to trouble you on a subject materially connected with their extension and usefulness. It has been found that some of the natives object to the interference, or supposed interference, of professed missionaries in the schools; and that others, both Mussulmans and Hindoos, dislike their daughters frequenting any place where men reside, and where so many comers and goers may be expected as at the present central school, which is, as you are probably aware, held in Mr. Wilson's house, at the establishment of the Church Missionary Society at Mirzapoor. It is, therefore, proposed to erect a new bungalow for the express purpose of establishing a central female school at some distance from the present establishment, and in a more accessible part of the town, where Mrs. Wilson may carry on her labours distinct from her husband and the other missionaries, under the direction of a committee of ladies, who may also undertake the management of all the native female schools in Calcutta, as well as those which are already established, or may hereafter arise, at Burdwan and in other parts of India.

" Lady Amherst has kindly promised to be patroness, and to attend as frequently as she can; and I am extremely anxious to concentrate in the assisting committee, as much as possible of the rank, influence, and good sense, as well as benevolence of Calcutta. May I hope that you will permit me to add your name to the list? The duties of schoolmistress will be, of course, still performed by Mrs. Wilson, and the correspondence and accounts will be readily undertaken by Mr. Crawford. The functions of the lady governesses will, therefore, not be very burdensome, being chiefly those of superintendence of the books, the method of teaching, the pro-

gress, &c. of the scholars. But these are functions which require so much tact, as well as kindness and zeal, that you will not wonder at my solicitude to obtain such recruits as yourself.

“ The object, you are aware, of the institution, will not be to attempt in any direct way the making converts, but to give to as many of the Indian females as possible, an education of a useful and moral character ; to enable them to read the Scriptures ; and to leave them, in short, in such a state of mental cultivation as will enable them in after life to choose their religion for themselves. It will be, I think, in this, if in any manner, that we shall see any considerable number of Hindoos converted. But whether they are converted or no, such an education as they will receive in these schools will be, at all events, a great positive benefit ; and the eagerness which, even now, under all discouragements, the native girls manifest for instruction, gives me good hope that, under the countenance and management which I hope to obtain for the system, it may flourish to a far greater extent, and eventually alter in a considerable degree the situation of females in India.

“ Believe me, dear Mrs. Lushington,

“ Sincerely your faithful and obedient servant,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

The plan to which the Bishop, in the last letter, invites the concurrence and assistance of Mrs. Lushington and the principal ladies in Calcutta, is mentioned with more detail in his *Journal*¹. It will be sufficient to add here, that the female schools have continued under the same direction as they were at this time placed ; and that their success has answered the most sanguine expectations. A central school, with apartments for Mrs. Wilson, according to a plan drawn by the Bishop, has been built, in part by contributions among the European residents in Calcutta, assisted by

¹ Bishop Heber's “ *Journal in India*, ” Vol. II. p. 301, quarto edit. Vol. III. p. 245, octavo edit.



a grant from the Church Missionary Society, and still further augmented by the splendid donation of 20,000 sicca rupees from the Raja Bahadur Budinâth Roy, a Hindoo gentleman residing near Calcutta, who has always taken great and marked interest in the improvement and welfare of his countrymen. At the annual examination held in the school in December 1828, there was one class of teachers or monitors, consisting of twenty-five native females, who had been educated under Mrs. Wilson's superintendence, and who were then employed in instructing their countrywomen. This circumstance proves, in a remarkable manner, how fast the prejudice against educating their females is wearing away among the natives. At the commencement of Mrs. Wilson's undertaking, it was extremely difficult to engage any person of character to enter on the employment of teacher; at the end of seven years a considerable class of monitors is found in the school, and many of the most respectable Hindoo families have applied for teachers to instruct their daughters in their own houses.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Calcutta, February 20, 1824.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of no less than three very interesting packets from you, some of which I should have answered before, had not the state of my eyes (of which, indeed, I cannot yet boast) made writing painful; while the confinement of Mrs. Heber has deprived me of my best, and, in confidential matters, my only secretary.

" I am very desirous, if it can be contrived, to see you before you leave the East. My plan (which has undergone some modifications from the mass of business which I have found accumulated

for me at Calcutta) is now to leave this place with the earliest rains for the Upper Provinces, which have never been visited at all, and greatly need episcopal inspection, both from the Churches to be consecrated, the number of candidates for confirmation who may be expected, and the different abuses of which I have received intelligence. I have been, indeed, so strongly impressed with the necessity of their most urgent claims, that I should have set off thither immediately after Christmas, if it had not been for the reason which I have already mentioned, and the farther consideration, that as I could not travel in the hot months, I should be better and more usefully employed during that time at Calcutta, than at a minor station. As it is, I should have wished, and it was, when I wrote to you, my intention to proceed, after visiting Meerut, Delhi, Agra, &c., by Neemuch and Mhow to the northern Churches of your archdeaconry, and so on to Bombay, Poonah, and Sholapoor, in my way to Madras and the south of India. By this plan, I should probably arrive in Guzerat early in February, which you mention as a desirable season for travelling there, and should have all your archdeaconry before me in a straight course. The main difficulties would seem to be, 1st, that by so doing, I must omit visiting Nagpoor, the most important station attached to the archdeaconry of Calcutta, and so remote from any usual line of route, that I should be obliged, if I visited it afterwards, to make a journey on purpose; 2dly, that I fear I should by this arrangement be too long engaged in the visitation of Bombay, to make it possible for me to discharge the like duty to Madras; while this latter archdeaconry, which has not been visited for four years, might have some reason to complain, if Bombay, whose visitation was more recent, received the first attention. Under these circumstances, I am sometimes led to think of visiting the northern Churches only of your archdeaconry, from Ahmedabad to Surat, proceeding thence homewards by Nagpoor, and reserving Madras and Bombay itself to another year, or at least a succeeding cold season.

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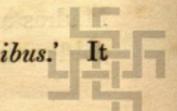


* * * * * You have managed admirably, I think, with regard to the deeds of trust for the new Churches. Here government absolutely refused to give more than a written engagement that they would keep up the buildings consecrated 'to the service of God, according to the forms and discipline of the Church of England;' and with this, on the question being discussed at home, (whither Bishop Middleton had referred it,) it was determined that I might rest contented.

" I have just been disappointed by the non-arrival of two excellent men, who were coming from Ceylon as candidates for orders—Mr. Armour, whom Bishop Middleton ordained deacon, and Christian David, a native Christian, whom he meant to have ordained, had he been satisfied as to his own powers. I had prevailed on the government of Ceylon to pay their passage hither and back again, when, unfortunately, Mr. Armour fell sick, and poor David was afraid to come alone. They may, perhaps, meet me at Madras next year, but I am very sorry for the delay. Mr. Hawtayne is going to Allepee. He wished to reach New South Wales, but, owing to some recent regulations, the trade between that place and India is entirely at an end.

" I hope your long journeys are signs as well as causes of your continued vigorous health. I have not begun very well with my experiments on an Indian climate, my eyes being still very painful; and a fall from my horse, which I had some days ago, having produced effects on my general health, which in Europe I should never have anticipated. I am now writing with both legs poulticed, and on a stool. They tell me I diet myself too abstemiously; yet my health has been excellent till now, and my habits of life have not materially differed from what they were in England.

" I have, I think, written to you now ' *de rebus omnibus*. ' It



is possible, that if I had paper and eye-sight left, I might still find out *quædam alia*, but at present I can only sign myself,

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“ Dear Mr. Archdeacon,

“ Ever very truly your's,

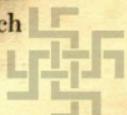
“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

To the Right Honourable Charles W. Williams Wynn.

Feb. 20, 1824.

“ * * * * * I thank you for the kind and considerate manner in which you have consulted my interests and wishes, as well as my official usefulness, in the different clauses of the new Act of Parliament which relate to me. Nothing has, I think, been omitted which I could expect or had any reasonable ground of desiring; and I can safely say that the advantages conferred on me will give me so much the greater pleasure, inasmuch as I trace in them all your thoughtful and attentive kindness. All for which I am still anxious, is the arrival of the despatches which are to direct the local government both as to the sort of house which I am to have, and the sum which is to be allowed me for my visitations. *They* are ready and anxious to serve me, and have done all in their power; but, notwithstanding this, my situation, *en attendant*, is, in some degree, anxious and precarious. I can get no tolerable house in Calcutta, except by purchase, or at an enormous rent of six hundred sicca rupees¹ per month, and at a lease of two years certain. And though government have themselves volunteered to make me a monthly allowance meantime, neither they nor I can well venture on such an engagement without further authority from home. I have, therefore, thus far, lived on in borrowed houses, inconveniently enough in some respects, and what is worst of all, my books remain packed, useless to me, and I fear taking injury from the place where they are stowed. Nor am I less in the dark respecting the aid which is to be afforded me in my approaching journey up the country, preparations for which

¹ Sixty pounds English.



I must, nevertheless, begin making. These are some of the inconveniences attendant on those, the secrets of whose destiny are committed to the winds and the waves.

" We both continue, on the whole, well-pleased with India, and look forward with increased interest to setting out for the upper provinces as soon as the rains begin to swell the Ganges, and before they are felt in Bengal. It was my intention to have started earlier, but we must, in that case, have halted somewhere during the months of hot wind ; and I shall, probably, be more useful in Calcutta than I could have been at any of the small stations during so long a residence. Yet the claims of the interior of India, where no bishop has ever been, and where is a grievously scanty supply of clergy of any description, are very urgent and pressing ; and I should be unjustifiable in postponing them any longer than is absolutely necessary.

" Have you seen any of the plans or designs of the wooden suspension bridges made by Mr. Shakespear, the post-master-general of Bengal ? I will endeavour, lest you should not, to procure some for you. They are really very ingenious, and, in these countries, likely to constitute a new era in the history both of civil and military intercourse. They are strong enough ; so light as to be portable, even when of a very considerable span, by the help of a few carts and elephants ; may be constructed, taken down, and set up again in not many hours ; and their materials are, in India, found almost very where."

To J. Phillimore, Esq. LL.D.

Tityghur, February 27, 1824.

" * * * * The clergymen whom I have seen or corresponded with, are very respectable, and many of them intelligent and well-informed. I only wish there were many more of them in the country ; but their paucity is really most grievous. The promised establishment of twenty-eight chaplains for this presidency (a very small one for a territory three times as exten-

sive as Great Britain and Ireland) has never been completed. Even of those on the list, a large proportion are on furlough. Many very important stations are, at this moment, as effectually cut off from preaching and the Sacraments, as if they were in the centre of China. * * * * Even in Calcutta and the neighbouring stations, though some of the clergy officiate three times a day, and though I myself and the archdeacon work as hard and as regularly as any of 'the *labouring* clergy' (to use the modish phrase) in any part of the world, we could not get the ordinary Sunday duty done, without resorting to the aid of the missionaries. With these last I have good reason to be satisfied. They all cheerfully (such, of course, as are of the Church of England) have received licences, and submitted themselves to my authority; they are, in fact, very respectable and pains-taking young men, who are doing far more in the way of converting and educating the natives than I expected, and are well-pleased to find themselves recognized as regular clergymen, and treated accordingly. *

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* * * * *

" I feel that I owe both you and Wynn many and grateful thanks for the care and kindness with which you have attended to all my wishes, and provided for my official efficiency and personal comfort and welfare in the new act of parliament. Believe me, I shall always feel a pride in having shared your acquaintance and your good-will. The despatches have not yet arrived, which are necessary to enable government here to assign me a residence, and I have been, till now, under circumstances of considerable anxiety, living in borrowed houses. * * * * I have, at length, engaged, from month to month, a house neither very good in itself, nor very conveniently situated; but as good as I have been able to obtain, without encumbering myself with a long lease or purchase.

* * * * *

" I have never yet had a copy of my amended patent; if it is not already sent me, may I request you to give some directions



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about it, since, till I am able to quote it authoritatively, I can enter into no official communication with the clergy at the Mauritius and New Holland."

* * * * *

To the Reverend Henry Davies, Senior Chaplain at Bombay.

Calcutta, March 8, 1824.

" REVEREND SIR,

" It gives me sincere pain to be again so soon obliged to address you in any thing like the language of disapprobation, but it is necessary for me to mention that, some time since, I observed in one of the Calcutta newspapers a paragraph (stated to be an advertisement copied from the Bombay Gazette, and bearing your signature) in which 'the Honourable the Governor in council,' was said to have granted 'on the application of the senior chaplain,' the use of the Honourable Company's frigate 'Hastings,' for the purpose of Divine Service for European seamen in the port of Bombay, and in which you, as *senior chaplain*, gave public notification of your intention to have Divine Service on Sunday afternoon, &c.

" Surprised at the singularity of such a procedure, in which I had not been consulted, nor the archdeacon of Bombay so much as mentioned, I wrote to Archdeacon Barnes for an explanation. He now informs me that the plan was, in the first instance, mentioned to him by the Reverend Mr. Carr; and that he acquiesced in it to the extent of abandoning a plan which he had himself previously formed for the attainment of the same object, desiring only that timely notice might be given to enable him to apply in the regular manner to government for the use of the vessel. He tells me that you called on him on the 29th of November, when a similar conversation took place between you, but that half an hour after, he received an official letter from government, dated seven days before, in which the grant of a vessel was announced to him for this purpose, in consequence of your application. That, lastly, the advertise-

ment which I have mentioned appeared in the Bombay Gazette, in which, as I have observed, no reference is had to me, or mention made of either the archdeacon, or your colleague Mr. Carr, who shares, as I understand, the duty in question with you.

“ In commenting on this procedure, I must distinctly premise that some such measure as the one in question, I esteem extremely desirable, and very highly approve the zeal which has led yourself and Mr. Carr to offer your voluntary services for the religious instruction of a class of men so interesting, and, unhappily, so often neglected, as the merchant seamen. But I am compelled to observe, that, for any chaplain or chaplains to make application to government, through any but the regular channel of the bishop or the archdeacon, is a conduct (unless prompted by a strong necessity, and properly explained as soon as possible) extremely disrespectful to the leading ecclesiastical authorities, extremely hostile to the principles of good order and Church union, and contrary to all the recognized etiquette and courtesy which have hitherto been observed in India.

“ To open any place of public worship without the licence and approbation of the ordinary or his delegate, is no less contrary to the practice of the Church, and, indeed, to the general principles on which all ecclesiastical societies are conducted. No sect of Christians with which I am acquainted would allow a chapel to be set on foot by any of their ministers without the knowledge and concurrence of the persons by whom the affairs of their religious community are managed. And, by the canons and statute laws of England, such places of worship (unless avowedly dissenting chapels and licensed under the provisions of the toleration acts) are, in fact, conventicles, and render the persons who officiate in them liable to severe penalties, both spiritual and temporal.

“ I am aware, indeed, that previous to your communication with government, Archdeacon Barnes had been consulted by Mr. Carr. But this, in a certain degree, rather aggravates the irregularity of your conduct; since, if you knew that he was friendly to the measure, and ready to make, in the regular



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manner, the application to government which you wished,—the making that application yourself, without his knowledge and authority, was nothing else than a gratuitous insult,—and the assertion of a sort of independence, if not superiority, which it would be impossible in any service to tolerate in a junior officer while his senior was at hand; and which I cannot help saying, under the circumstances in which you then unfortunately stood with Archdeacon Barnes, it became you to have avoided with more than usual anxiety. Nor can I view your subsequent visit to the archdeacon, in which you neither offered any apology for what you had done, nor so much as told him of it, as at all calculated to weaken this unfavourable impression.

“ I repeat that to the arrangement which you have adopted (provided no better arrangement can be found) I have not the least objection, and shall be happy as well as willing to sanction it. But it is absolutely necessary that the good which we do or attempt to do, should be done in concert with each other, and in subordination to the general principles of our ecclesiastical polity. You and your colleague will find ample scope (and by God’s help you shall find as ample encouragement as it is in my power to give) for the most ardent zeal and the most indefatigable activity within the pale of the Church, and without in the least violating the rules of her union and discipline. But a needless neglect of those rules can only bring discredit and difficulty on the cause of our general faith, and of the establishment, for the preservation of which I am persuaded you are sincerely anxious. Nor can I conceive any thing which more completely than the opening of a new place of worship, corresponds with that description of things which *χωρὶς ἐπισκοπῶν μη δει ποιεῖν*.

“ In future, then, I must beg that it may be generally understood, both by yourself and your colleague, that no chapel or place of public worship can be opened without the concurrence and consent of the bishop, or, in his absence, of the archdeacon; that no applications are to be made to government through any channel but them; and that it is very desirable that every suggestion of

new duties or new means of doing good which may occur to particular clergymen, should be, in the first instance, communicated to the heads of the Church, for their sanction, or, at least, their permission. To the archdeacon, as nearest, such applications ought, of course, to be in the first instance made. Should he refuse, an appeal will still lie to me; nor can we either of us have any conceivable motives for cramping or thwarting the zeal and activity of our brethren.

" I have written to Archdeacon Barnes, requesting him to ascertain the expediency of either continuing the present, or substituting some other mode of religious instruction for the seamen. In the meantime, and till you receive further directions from him, it is my wish that you and Mr. Carr should continue your present useful and meritorious labours. For those labours and the spirit which prompts them I have a sincere respect and value; and it is only to the end that they may be rendered more effectual, by the concurrence and aid of other clergymen, by the general union and prosperity of the Church, and by the blessing of Him who is the God of order and of peace, that I have thought it necessary thus to address you.

" I remain, Reverend Sir,

" Your friend and servant in Christ,

" REGINALD CALCUTTA."

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Calcutta, March 10, 1824.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" Enclosed I send a copy of a letter, which I have addressed to Mr. Davies. * * * *

I have preferred this method of reproving him, both because it enabled me to express my sentiments more fully, and because I was unwilling, without necessity, to saddle you with an ungracious office. With regard to the government of Bombay, you seem to



have yourself already done all which is necessary or, at present, desirable, in obtaining an explanation from them, and establishing such a mutual understanding as will prevent their receiving such irregular applications in future. Two instances of this kind have occurred since my arrival here; in both, however, government referred the application to me.

“ With regard to the measures hereafter to be pursued for the religious instruction of the seamen, you will perceive, by the enclosed letter, that I have referred their arrangement entirely to yourself, and directed Messrs. Davies and Carr to receive their orders on the subject from you. I am sure I need not express my hope, that those directions will be communicated in the most conciliating manner; and that you will be careful not to risk the discontinuance of the present system, before you have something preferable to put in its room. I understand that a *floating* place of worship is really most congenial to the feelings of seamen, and the wishes of their employers; and you will, I apprehend, find reason to prefer the frigate, as at present arranged, to any apartment which you can obtain in the dock-yard. The best hour for their attendance is a more difficult problem; seamen have often early in the morning a great deal of dirty and hard work in washing the deck, &c., which is, perhaps, likely to prevent a full attendance at the hour you mention. Six or seven in the evening is the time when they are most at leisure, and when the heat does not operate (as it may often do at four) to keep them away from the place of worship. But there may be difficulties from darkness, grog, and other considerations, which will considerably perplex your choice; probably it may be better to get the opinion of one or two captains. Whatever is determined on, it will be desirable that the place should be licensed.

“ I received with much interest the application respecting the new Churches; they and the chaplains shall be attended to at the same time, and as soon as I have heard from you in answer to my letter respecting the latter. * * * *

“ You will, long ere this reaches you, have been made ac-

quainted with the plan, so far as it is arranged, of my approaching tour, and the difficulties which oppose my reaching your archdeaconry. I cannot, however, refrain from returning you my very sincere thanks for your gratifying and truly friendly offer to accompany me during the visitation. It would, indeed, be a great satisfaction to me to have, for so long together, and in scenes so interesting, the pleasure and advantage of your company. My chaplain, however, is, I have reason to hope, already arrived at Madras; and Mr. Corrie had, some time since, expressed an earnest wish to go with me through the greater part, at least, of this archdeaconry. That we may meet in the west, and see, at least, some parts of India together, I should be sorry to give up the hope.

“ Adieu, my dear Sir;

“ Believe me ever most truly your's,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Chowringhee, May 12, 1824.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

* * * * *

“ I now send you Mr. Davies' letter, in which he takes, as you will see, much the same line of defence which you anticipated he would do. You will observe, however, that he submits his future proceedings to the direction of his superiors; and it will, therefore, be for you to determine what is the best plan to pursue, during the absence of the ‘Hastings,’ for supplying the spiritual wants of the seamen. If there is any other vessel which would serve the purpose, it may be desirable for you to make an application for its use; or, otherwise, to resume your original plan of a shed, or other place for meeting, on the island of Colabah.

“ What were the regulations of Bishop Middleton to which Mr. Davies alludes, assigning to his care the crew of the vessels in



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the river? If such a regulation were really made, it would be desirable to offer the place of preacher to him in the first instance; and, at all events, it will be a very desirable, and, in you, a very graceful piece of courtesy, to communicate to him whatever plan you think it best to lay before government.

“ To Mr. Carr pray convey the expression of my entire confidence (founded on what you have said) in his being guiltless of all intentional offence against ecclesiastical authority or decorum, together with my good wishes, and the pleasure with which I look forward to becoming acquainted with him. * * * *

You have not yet sent me your wishes as to the application which I am to make on your behalf to the Board of Controul. I am anxious on more accounts than one, to put on record, in an official manner, my opinion (founded on the general view of Christian India) of your character and indefatigable services. But though your pension is, of course, certain, I wish I had equally good hopes of your obtaining the compensation which you have a natural right to expect for your toilsome and expensive journeys. Nor do I exactly know to whom the application is to be made, inasmuch as the supreme government, I am almost convinced, will not interfere, even if they are authorized to do so. To the Board of Controul I can and will state the case strongly, but I have little hope from them.

“ I was much pleased with your plan for the institution of a committee for the propagation of the Gospel, except that I still doubt whether it would not have an injurious effect on the funds of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in which doubt Mr. Mill agrees with me. Before the matter goes further I should wish to communicate with Mr. Hawtayne, who, as secretary, knows more of our affairs than any person in India. All I know is, that we are now very poor, owing to the greatness of our disbursements, and that, instead of being able to diminish the amount of our subscriptions, we have just made an application to our members for an increase.

“ The question about countersigning the chaplains' licences is

really a difficult one. In a few days, however, I hope to send you the result of my meditations and enquiries. Thank you very much for paying my subscription to the Education Society. Your best plan, I am assured, of receiving payment, is to draw on me for the amount. I cannot remit money to Bombay without a heavy loss.

“ Believe me, dear Sir,

“ Ever your faithful and obedient servant,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

To the Reverend Principal Mill.

June 11, 1824.

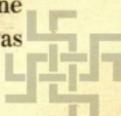
“ * * * * * I am sincerely glad that you agree with me respecting the publication of Christian David's sermons at this moment. I was much pleased that he preached, and preached well, at the Old Church; but I think the matter had better stop there. Nothing could be kinder, or more amiable, than our friend Dr. Parish's eagerness in the good cause; but I am happy to hear that he, on recollection, agrees with my view of the policy of not drawing too much attention to our proceedings. Pray say all which is kind from me to Christian David, whom I was far from suspecting of any thing pushing or ambitious. It gives me much pleasure to learn that you can be one of his spiritual fathers on Sunday. *Feliciter vertat.* Bowley and Abdul Musseh may, perhaps, be the next. I need not, I know, request your prayers, and those of your society, for our Church at this season.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Ever your sincere friend,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

Soon after the Bishop's arrival in India, he was appointed one of the vice-presidents of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. He was



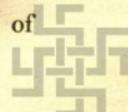
prevented, by his more important duties, from taking the active part in their proceedings, to which the interest he felt in their researches would have prompted him ; but he attended their meetings whenever it was in his power. The present device of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the banyan-tree, with its motto, "*Quot rami tot arbores,*" was suggested to Mr. W. Wynn, by the Bishop. An affecting allusion to this circumstance was made at a recent meeting of this Society, by Mr. Wynn, when he observed, that the late union of some of the Indian branches of the Society with their parent tree, was a practical illustration of the motto.

The scarcity of chaplains in the Bengal presidency, and the bad health of some of those who were resident in Calcutta, made the Bishop feel it necessary to perform, himself, as much or more duty than he had been accustomed to do in England. On one Sunday, some weeks after his arrival, he wrote two sermons ; preached twice in the Cathedral ; baptized a child in the fort ; and read through, and commented on a large packet of papers on ecclesiastical business. The unfortunate detention of the ship which contained nearly all his manuscript sermons, added much to the pressure of business in which he was involved ; inasmuch as he generally had to compose one whenever he preached. But though he frequently went to bed exhausted with the labours of the day, to which were added the demands upon his time and attention which the common civilities of life require, and which were the more cheerfully complied with, as he felt that his influence among the higher ranks of society in Calcutta increased, the more familiarly he associated with them, he seldom could be persuaded to relax from the rules he had prescribed to himself, so soon as he became acquainted with the state of the Church in India, and in which he persisted with rather augmenting than decreasing diligence to the last. And this too in a climate which more particularly indisposes men to exertion of any kind, whether mental or bodily ; and where the constant exhaustion during the greater part of the year is such, as no one, except from experience, can picture

to himself. The Bishop thus describes the heat. "It is impossible to sit still under the most favourable circumstances, without streaming with perspiration; our windows are all close shut up, and our rooms darkened to keep out the hot and molten atmosphere, which streams in wherever it can find an entrance, like the breath of a huge blast furnace." Often has the editor earnestly requested him to spare himself, when, on descending from the pulpit she saw him almost unable to speak from exhaustion; or when, after a few hours rest at night, he would rise at four o'clock to attend a meeting, or visit a school, and then pass the whole of the day, till sunset, in mental labour, without allowing himself the hour's mid-day sleep in which the most active generally indulge. To such remonstrances he would answer, that these things were necessary to be done; and that the more zealous he was in the discharge of his own duties, he could, with the greater justice, urge activity on such of his clergy as he might deem deficient.

The applications for resident chaplains from the inhabitants of many of the principal stations, which the Bishop received, occasioned him much painful uneasiness; they were but too generally such as he had it not in his power to flatter with the least hope of receiving a favourable answer from government, though he never failed to lay them before the proper authorities in as earnest a manner as possible, nor to state their requests at home. The greater number of the Company's chaplains are licensed to districts, separated from each other by large tracts of country, containing a considerable number of Europeans, who are either entirely debarred from the ordinances of their religion, or obliged to take long and expensive journeys to the nearest station of a resident clergyman. From six stations within the presidency of Fort William, the Bishop received, during his visitation, most pressing demands for resident missionaries, with an assurance that every assistance and encouragement would be given them, while to only two or three was he able to assign even the occasional services of the nearest chaplain.

When the Bishop landed in Bengal, he took the office of
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president of the Diocesan Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, established in Calcutta; the native schools, and the various branches of the Society's labours in that city, shared, in common with the other religious societies, much of his time and exertion; and, as will be hereafter seen, the interests of their missions powerfully engrossed his attention during his last visitation of the Southern provinces of the continent of India.



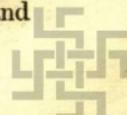
CHAPTER XXIV.

The Bishop leaves Calcutta—Letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on the state of Bishop's College—Mr. Christian—The Bishop leaves Dacca—Letter from the Protopapas of the Greeks—Licensing Chaplains—The Puahrees—Letter from Mr. Christian—His death—Epidemic Fever in Calcutta—The Bishop's Entrance into Benares—Letter from Mr. Norman Macleod—Population of the Banks of the Ganges—Chunar—Missionary Establishment at Chinsurah—Extracts from Mr. J. Lushington's Journal—Sonnet.

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ON the 15th of June, the Bishop began his extensive visitation, unaccompanied save by his domestic Chaplain and his native servants. The demand for medical men occasioned by the Burmese war was so great, that the Bishop was deterred, by the representation of one of the members of government, from publicly requesting that a surgeon should be appointed to attend him. But the editor had, subsequently, the mortification of learning, that such a demand would have been complied with had it been made in the highest quarter; and this unfortunate error not only deprived her of the pleasure of accompanying her husband, which she would have done, if medical assistance had always been within her reach, but laid the foundation of those various delays which, commencing at Dacca, in the illness and death of Mr. Stowe, caused his departure for Madras to be delayed till the advance of the hot season rendered it imprudent for a European to travel in the southern provinces.

“ We set out,” he writes to a friend, “ attended by two smaller boats of very rude construction, with thatched cabins and

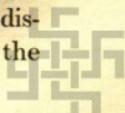


huge masts and yards of bamboo, something like the canoes of the Friendly Islands, as Cook has represented them. One of these is a cooking-boat, the other for our luggage and servants; and it may give you some idea of the number of hands employed in Bengal for all purposes, when I tell you that twelve servants are thought a very moderate travelling establishment for myself and a single friend; and that the number of boatmen for the three vessels amounts, I believe, to thirty-two. We are, indeed, obliged to carry every thing with us, even to milch goats, supplies being seldom to be procured in the line of country through which we have to travel. Our diet must, therefore, have been salt meat and poultry, had not a few instances of fair dealing with the fishermen procured us an almost daily supply of their commodities. I was surprised to see many of these poor men paddle away at our approach as fast as their canoes could carry them; but learned soon after, from the complaint of one of their number, that the servants and boatmen of 'great men' were apt to take their fish by force and without paying for them. This I easily prevented; but these and some other abuses of the same kind, which even my imperfect knowledge of the language enabled me to detect, show how prone these people are to plunder and tyrannize over each other, and how much odium may be unknowingly incurred by Europeans through the rascality of their followers.

"Our way was through the heart of Lower Bengal, by the Matabunga, the Chundna, and those other branches of the Ganges which make so tortuous a labyrinth in Rennell's map. The Sunderbunds would have been a nearer course; but this was pleasanter, and showed us more of the country, which along the whole line of the river was fertile, well cultivated and verdant to a great degree, and sometimes really beautiful. The banks are generally covered with indigo, and beyond are wide fields of rice or pasture, with villages, each under a thicket of glorious trees, banyans, palms, plantains, and bamboos; and though we here and there passed woods of a wilder character, their extent did not seem to be more than in one of our English counties. The villages are all of mud

and bamboos, the roofs arched like the bottom of a boat, to prevent their pliable supporters from bending in a contrary direction, and both the country, the houses, the boats and the people are, on the whole, of a better description than any thing in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta.

“ Our little fleet unmoored early, and brought to for the night about six; after which we generally contrived to get a pleasant walk, and to see more, by far, of the country and the people than we could have done in many months spent in Calcutta. The general impression made on my mind was, certainly, that of prosperity and good government; and perhaps it was, in a certain sense, an indication of both these, that the peasants, such of them as spoke Hindoostanee, were rather forward to talk of their grievances, and grumble about the ‘times’ in much the same with English cottagers. Their complaints were all of the same character,—the dearness of rice, the rise of rents, and the burthen of tolls and local taxes. I believe, indeed, that in all these respects they have some reason to complain. The famine in Madras, and our expedition to Rangoon, have contributed materially to drain Bengal, and Lord Cornwallis’ famous settlement is said to have left the ryut too much at the mercy of the zemindar. As for the tolls, the East India Company have generously given up their whole proceeds to the internal improvement of the districts where they are levied. Nor do their rates seem high to an Englishman. But the generosity of the Company does not seem known or understood; while these rates are collected by native officers on the necessaries of life, as they are taken to market, with very considerable extortion and injustice. Except on account of the local taxes, I could not find that they had any quarrel with government; and with the exception of the fishermen, I found nobody either afraid of, or averse to, the presence or conversation of a European. A wonderful change seems to have taken place in this respect, which, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, I have heard attributed to the missionaries and their schools. But in the districts of which I am speaking, there are neither the one nor the



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other; and I know no cause for it but the general good conduct and good temper of the Company's servants in the situation of Mofussil magistrates, who, certainly, by all which I have seen, are generally actuated by right feelings, and display in their diligence, patience, and modesty of appearance and demeanour, a very different picture from that which is often drawn of the manner in which fortunes are made, and men governed in India."

To the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, Secretary to the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

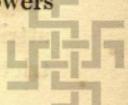
Chundna River, June 23, 1824.

" **REVEREND SIR,**

" I am happy to acknowledge the safe arrival of the library and communion plate ¹ destined for Bishop's College, as well as of Mr. Townsend, the printer, and his necessary stores; also of your obliging letter, bearing date August 27, 1823, and the power of attorney. For all these I should have taken an earlier opportunity of offering my thanks to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had not they arrived when I was much occupied in preparing for my primary visitation in the Cathedral, as well as for the journey in which I am now engaged, and which it is my purpose, by God's blessing, to pursue through the greater part of this diocese. I had, indeed, other cares of a more melancholy description, in the duties which I owed to the sick-bed, the remains, the widow and child of my excellent and lamented friend, the Chief Justice; while I was looking forward also to a long and dismal separation from my own wife and children, whose health has been considered as unequal to the journey before me. Under these circumstances, I trust the Society will not think me culpably remiss in allowing the ' Paget' to leave India without writing by her.

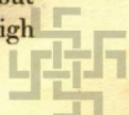
" Previous to the receipt of your letter, and of the powers

¹ The gift of Mrs. Middleton.—Ed.



conveyed personally to me as the Society's attorney, I had found it necessary to exercise many of those powers as successor to their late attorney in the see of Calcutta. The dividends, however, on the 6000*l.*, which Mr. Wood, the accountant-general, will have informed you have been duly received and vested in the Honourable Company's securities, have not yet become payable, so that the ordinary and extraordinary expences of the college have been hitherto defrayed from a balance of 16,546 sicca rupees, transferred to me on my arrival in Calcutta, by the Reverend Principal Mill ; from a collection made in St. James's Church, after a sermon by the Reverend Mr. Hawtayne, of 475 sicca rupees, and from other sums received from the Bible Society, in part of their grant to the college. These latter sums, indeed, are in strictness appropriated to translations of Scripture into the native languages of India, one of which, the Old Testament into Persian, is proceeding, under the happiest auspices, in the hands of the Reverend Mr. Robinson, chaplain at Poonah ; but in the necessity of the case (of which sufficient proof will soon be furnished,) I judged it allowable to borrow from these funds, in the well-grounded confidence of being able to replace whatever sums I thus applied, from the promised grant of a thousand pounds sterling from the Church Missionary Society, which, in fact, I understood was paid, at the time of my departure from Calcutta, to the Society's account in the bank of Bengal.

" Of the disbursements, by far the most considerable are the sums advanced to Captain Hutchinson, of the Honourable Company's engineers, on account of the college buildings. The very large sums paid on this account, as well as the yet unfinished state of the buildings, will, I fear, excite much surprise, if not dissatisfaction on the part of the Society. To me they have been sources of great and continual uneasiness ; and the more so, because I had expected to find, on my arrival in India, the establishment, if not in activity, at least in a fit state to receive the books, the printing press, and the missionaries who were to follow me. Instead of this, I found it a mere shell, of elegant architecture, but without offices of any kind, in the midst of a wilderness of high



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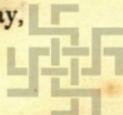
grass, creeping shrubs, and stagnant pools, which were supposed, in Calcutta, to hold out a very dismal prospect to the health of all who might venture to become its inhabitants. My mortification was increased to find that none of the circumstances yet necessary to complete and render the building habitable, had been included in the estimate furnished to Bishop Middleton; that a set of Venetian blinds which had been furnished for the whole college, had turned out inapplicable and useless; and that no successful and creditable termination of the work could be anticipated, without a large and continued advance of money.

“ Much of this is to be accounted for by the unfortunate choice of the architect, who, though a man of some reputation in Calcutta, was merely accustomed to the routine style of building usual there, and unfit, both in talent and education, to make provision for the numerous incidental expenses and hindrances inseparable from such a building as Bishop's College. My distinguished and excellent predecessor appears to have been himself obliged to give instructions in many matters, not only of taste, but of detail, down to the act of teaching his workmen to describe a common Gothic arch. Nor can the solidity and beauty of the fabric as it now stands, be witnessed without an increased respect for those talents which were thus called forth in a field very foreign to their usual direction. Still many faults occurred which, when the management was transferred to Captain Hutchinson, Bishop Middleton was anxious to repair; and no small part of those funds, to which the latter had, probably, looked forward for the external improvements of the situation, were exhausted in correcting errors and recovering lost ground.

“ To account for the slow progress which had been made, it would, perhaps, be sufficient to mention that, since undertaking the college, Captain Hutchinson had been employed by government in several other public buildings, which inevitably prevented his giving to this establishment so much attention as had been expected from him. But, in truth, every work of the kind in India is, and must be, tedious to a degree which, in Europe, may be hardly

credible. No carpenter or bricklayer here will come to his labour before eight or nine o'clock, or continue it after four in the afternoon. During those few hours, though not deficient either in neatness or dexterity, he is neither strong, nor diligent, nor trustworthy. And this usual trifling and careless style of workmanship is aggravated, when the work in which he is engaged is of a novel kind; and when the national reluctance to depart from established modes is added to his habitual idleness and inattention; while, at the same time, his poverty renders it impossible for him to undertake or proceed in any thing, unless assisted by before-hand payments. Under such circumstances it was with real difficulty, and after many earnest remonstrances, both from the principal and myself, that the former was enabled, last Christmas, to take possession of his lodging. And I can assure you, that it required no inconsiderable exertion of fortitude and zeal, both in himself and his newly married lady, to remove themselves, even at the best season of the year, to a scene so lonely and unpromising.

" Since that time the progress of the work, if not more rapid, has been more perceptible. The ground has been cleared and drained, the pools filled up, walks of pounded brick constructed round the quadrangle and to the river, the offices are finished, and the dwellings for the native teachers and the printer are in some degree of advancement. The rooms are, to a certain extent, furnished. The library, which is a very beautiful apartment, has received, and shows to great advantage, the books which it owes to the munificence of your society, and some other benefactors, among whom the principal himself is most conspicuous. And it was with no common emotion that I first heard a well-toned bell calling, amid those teak and coco-nut trees, the inmates of the building to morning prayers, though unfortunately not in the Chapel. The latter is still empty and unglazed; the wood-work of the stalls has been for some time under the workmen's hands; but from such hands no speedy result can be expected. The hall is sufficiently furnished for the present number of its inmates; but its walls have a naked and unadorned appearance, which may,



perhaps, be one day removed by a portrait of the distinguished and excellent prelate who designed it. The printing-press is setting up in one of the lower apartments of the east wing. A separate building would be now most desirable, and will, ere long, be absolutely necessary ; but our funds are, at present, unequal to such an undertaking. The organ is, for the present, in one of the recesses of the library.

“ With regard to the expense incurred, I beg leave to assure the Incorporated Society that no single item has been allowed by me, which both the principal and I have not agreed in thinking absolutely necessary, or respecting the usual price of which, I have not obtained the best information in my power. Captain Hutchinson, whose character is unimpeached as a man of honour and talent, has, by an arrangement at once advantageous to the society, and which prevents his deriving any advantage from past or future delay, consented to receive a poundage of fifteen per cent., instead of the monthly allowance of five hundred sicca rupees which Bishop Middleton agreed to pay him. And it is only fair to him and to ourselves to state, that the excess of the expenditure over the original estimate has arisen, not on the works which that estimate comprised, but on others which, in all reason, it ought to have specified. It will be observed, however, that the Chapel furniture, glazing, and wainscotting, are still unpaid for ; that the whole of the grant of which I have any positive assurance from the Church Missionary Society will be exhausted in supplying these demands, and in replacing the sum borrowed from the translators' fund ; that a very heavy monthly payment is required for the teachers, servants, boatmen, medical attendants, and table expenses of the college ; and I trust, therefore, that for the present, and until our affairs are in a more prosperous condition, the Incorporated Society will suffer their college to remain their debtor for the five hundred pounds, which have been advanced by them for the payment of the printing apparatus.

“ In speaking of boatmen, it is necessary to observe, that two boats and twelve boatmen are rendered indispensable by the si-

tuation of the college beyond the river, and at a considerable distance from Calcutta. One of them is for marketing, the other for the conveyance of the visitor, as well as the principal tutors, and other inmates of the college. Three boats had been directed by Bishop Middleton, one for the exclusive use of the visitor. But on conference with the principal, it appeared to us both that this expence might be spared; and the readiness with which he has always accommodated me with the use of the college boat, has left me no reason to regret the determination.

“ The college now contains two students on the foundation of the Incorporated Society; a third on the foundation of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and from the archdeaconry of Madras; and a fourth, a non-foundation student, supported, and to be paid for, by the Diocesan Committee of the Church Missionary Society. The Reverend Christian David, long a native catechist, in the employ of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and lately ordained by me deacon and priest, as one of the Colonial chaplains of his Majesty’s Government of Ceylon, has been an inmate within its walls during the time of his residence within this archdeaconry. The Reverend Mr. Tweddle, one of the Incorporated Society’s missionaries, is prosecuting his studies there also; and the printer is, as a matter of necessity, admitted on the same footing.

“ To apportion the different ratios in which each of these is to contribute to the table expences, has been found, in this country, a task more difficult than might have been expected. All which has yet been done, is to keep these expences down to the most modest and frugal scale; but I trust that the degree of experience which has been already acquired, many enable the principal, assisted by the local knowledge of the college *dewan*, or steward, an intelligent native, who filled the same situation with Bishop Middleton and with the two late chief justices, to make such an arrangement as will at once be just and satisfactory.

“ In reverting from the expences incurred to the effects produced, I am happy to be able to speak in terms of decided approbation. The college is itself a beautiful object, in a singularly pic-

turesque and sequestered scene. The experience of the past months gives reason to hope that, as a dwelling in this climate, it will be more healthy and commodious than its arrangement and situation led many to anticipate. And, above all, it is already in active and efficient usefulness as a place of oriental, classical, and Christian education, in which its excellent principal, though labouring single-handed, is labouring with a patience and persevering ability, which, to be duly appreciated, must be witnessed. Both he and I, however, look forward with anxious earnestness to the arrival of one, if not both of the professors who are to share in his toils. It will be impossible, as the business of the college continues to increase, that the principal can long continue, as he now does, to do all. And in the event of his illness or death (and in this climate of all others, we can never witness eminent talent or virtue, without recollecting how soon and suddenly it may be taken from us,) I cannot contemplate without very painful apprehension, the consequences which must follow to the institution, of which he is the single pillar, and which at present holds forth so hopeful a prospect of utility and blessing.

" The Society's two elder missionaries, Mr. Christian and Mr. Morton, are employed, I believe most usefully, and I trust in a manner not contrary to the Society's intentions, in superintending two excellent circles of Bengalee schools, supported by the diocesan committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They are both men of good talents and much zeal and diligence. Mr. Christian, more particularly, is every thing, as I conceive, which a missionary ought to be ; devoted to, and delighting in his work ; endearing himself to the natives by his kind, condescending, and cheerful disposition ; and to his countrymen and brother clergy, by his modesty and propriety, both of behaviour and doctrine. Of Mr. Morton I can also speak very favourably. To him I have ventured to make an advance on the part of the Society, which I feel will require some explanation, of six hundred sicca rupees, to pay the price of a small carriage and horse. Without such an aid, in this climate and in his situation, no missionary could either visit the schools, many of which lie at a considerable dis-

tance from his house, in a very deep and miry country, or make himself generally known and useful among the natives. And Mr. Morton's large family, with the addition of a severe illness which afflicted both his wife and himself during the spring, made it impossible for him to purchase such a convenience out of his own funds. I will, however, cheerfully replace the money, should the Society, under all circumstances, think the grant unnecessary, or the precedent likely to be injurious.

“ I will only add my sincere good wishes and prayers for the continual welfare and usefulness of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.”

REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

At Dacca, as the Bishop relates in his journal¹, he lost his companion and friend, Mr. Stowe, after a fortnight's illness, during which time, though far from well himself, he nursed him with all the tenderness and affection of a brother. His private book of devotion contains the following affecting prayer:—

“ *July 22, 1824.*—On leaving Dacca. Oh merciful and mighty Lord, who hast been pleased, in Thy Fatherly wisdom, to afflict me, by taking from my side a faithful and affectionate friend, I meekly give Thee thanks for that Thou hast enabled him to depart in the fear and love of Thy Holy Name, and in a comfortable hope through the merits of our great Redeemer! Grant, I beseech Thee, that the impression made on me by his humility, his self-condemnation, his penitence, his fears, and his final trust in Thy mercy, may not be suffered to fade from my mind, but may work in me that true and timely repentance of my own sins, which only can save my death-bed from intolerable agony, and my soul from a worse hereafter. And the more I am deprived of earthly friends, teach me, O God, to cling the more to Thee!

¹ Bishop Heber's “Journal in India,” Vol. ii. p. 388, 346, quarto edit. Vol. iii. p. 294—304, octavo edit.



The more I am alone, be Thou the more with me, that I may feel continually Thy love and presence here, and dwell with Thee to everlasting ages hereafter, as my hope is Thy departed servant shall, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen!"

While the Bishop was at Dacca, he received the following letter¹, from the protopapas of the Greeks, resident in Calcutta, to whom he had frequently shown civility, and who had been much gratified by being asked to meet the English clergy at dinner on the day of the bishop's visitation, together with the archimandrite of the Armenians, and some of their inferior monks.

Τῷ πανιερολογιωτάτῳ καὶ σεβασμιωτάτῳ μοι δεσπότῳ, τῷ κατὰ Πνευμα
μοι Πατρῷ, Κυρίῳ Κῷ 'Ρεγινάλδῳ Επισκόπῳ Καλκούτταιῳ.
Προσκυνη.

Την ὑμετέραν πανιερολογιδητα ταπεινῶς προσκυνῶ, ἀσπαζόμενος
εὐλαβῶς την σεβασμιαν μοι ἀντῆς δεξιὰν.

Ἡ ἐντευθεν ἀναχωρησις της σῆς μοι σεβασμιας κεφαλῆς, δεσποτα
μον πανιερολογιωτατε μοι, επροξενησεν ἀλγος επ' αλγει καὶ ἀσθένειαν
επ' ασθενειᾳ· δια τοντο και δεομαι τῶν σων ευχῶν των ἐθάδων τῶν
δυσωπειν τόν θεον.

Ο ἐπιφέρων το ταπεινον μον γραμμα ἔστιν ὁ Ιερος τῆς εν Δακκᾳ
Ἐλληνικῆς εκκλησιας, τονυμα Βενιαμην, κατα την εκκλησιαστικην
αξιαν ονομαζεται αρχιμανδριτης. Ιδοις δ'αν αυτον ευμενέσιν δόθαλ-
μοις, δόμοιως και τους δόμογενεις μον ἀπαντας· ερωμενως διαβιψης
και ἐνδαιμονῶν, Πατερ σεβασμιωτατε μοι.

Ο σος δοῦλος, Ο Πρωτωπαπας,

Διονυσιος Γεωργιου.

Ο λειτουργος ιερευς της εν Καλκούττῃ εκκλησιας Κυρ. Αμβρο-
σιος προσφερει δ' εμον τὰς ταπεινας προσκυνησεις, δόμοιως και ὁ Κυρ.
Ιζιαν Λούκας, και ὁ Κυρ. Κστ. Πανταζῆς, τη ση μοι πανιερολογιοτητι.

Εν Καλκούττῃ,

Τη 8η του Ιουλιου, 1824.

¹ For the translation of this letter the editor is indebted to the Rev. H. D. Leees, who

To Augustus W. Hare, Esq.

Delaserry River, near Dacca, July 22d, 1824.

“ MY DEAR AUGUSTUS,

“ Little did I anticipate, when we parted, with how heavy a heart I should commence what (I am almost ashamed to say) is my first letter to you. We have lost poor Stowe! He set out with me five weeks since, on my visitation; leaving his sister with Emily and her children, who were dissuaded by our medical advisers from accompanying me in my formidable journey, but whom we hoped to meet at Bombay, whither they were to proceed by sea, while we pursued our way across the continent through Rajpootana and Malwah. Stowe had been seriously unwell in Calcutta, of something like a dysentery; but it was anticipated by

is agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society, for the dispersion of the Scriptures in the Mediterranean; and who returned, in 1829, to Corfu, with the additional view of forwarding a system of education already commenced in the Ionian islands.

*To the most learned and reverend Lord, my Spiritual Father, Lord Reginald, Bishop of Calcutta.
With respectful salutations.*

I humbly salute your learned and reverend person, respectfully embracing your venerable right hand.

The departure from hence of your by me venerated head, my learned and Reverend Lord, occasioned sorrow upon sorrow, and infirmity upon infirmity, wherefore I entreat your prayers, which are accustomed to propitiate God.

The bearer of my humble letter is the priest of the Greek Church in Dacca, Benjamin by name; in ecclesiastical rank he has the title of Archimandrite. May you behold him with favourable eyes, and in like manner all my compatriots. May you pass through life in health and prosperity, my most reverend father.

Your Servant,

the Protopapas

DIONYSIUS GEORGIUS.

The priest, who ministers in the Church at Calcutta, presents, through me, humble salutations; as do, in like manner, Mr. John Lucas, and Mr. Constantine Pantazes, to your reverend and learned person.

*In Calcutta,
the 8th of July, 1824.*

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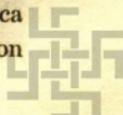
every body, that a sail of three months on the Ganges and a subsequent journey in a cooler climate would be of the most essential service to him; and he was not only permitted, but strongly advised by Dr. Abel to accompany me. These favourable expectations seemed verified by the experience of our first fortnight. The cool breezes of the river seemed to revive him most effectually, and his spirits, strength, and appetite increased perceptibly; while he took a daily increasing interest in the wild and sequestered, but luxuriant and beautiful scenes through which we passed, while threading the great delta of the Ganges in our way to Dacca. Unhappily, as his strength returned, he became less cautious; he one evening, particularly, exposed himself to the sun, while yet high, and to the worst miasma which this land of death affords, by running into a marsh after some wild ducks. From that time his disorder returned, and he reached Dacca on the fifth of this month, so weak and exhausted as to be carried from the boat to the bedroom prepared for him. The means of cure usually employed were tried without success, inasmuch as, why I could not learn, mercury took little or no hold on his constitution. He struggled, however, against the complaint with a strength which surprised both myself and his medical attendants, and which long flattered us, alas! with a delusive hope of his recovery. During the three last days of his life he was sensible of his approaching end, and, I trust, I shall never forget the earnestness of his prayers; the severity and deep contrition with which he scrutinized all the course of his (surely) innocent and useful life; the deep humility and self-abasement with which he cast himself on God's mercy through Christ; or the blessed and still brightening hope which, after his first mental struggle was over, it pleased his gracious Master to grant him. He sent his love to you, with a request that all his papers might be sent to you, 'to do what you thought best with them.'

* * * * *

He often named his 'poor sister,' recommending her to Emily's care and mine. But all the rest of his time was occupied in praying, with me, or mentally, and in listening to different texts

of Scripture, which he took great delight in my reading to him. 'God,' he said on Friday evening, 'God and His dear Son are mercifully making this passage more and more easy to me.' He slept very little, being disturbed by constant spasms. Laudanum was resorted to; but this, without removing the symptoms of his complaint, clouded his head and gave him evil dreams; and he earnestly begged of me not to let them give him any more. At length, in the course of Saturday, a slight wandering of intellect came on, though he never ceased to know me, and to express uneasiness, if, by an alteration of position or any other cause, he for a moment lost sight of me. His end was now visibly fast approaching, and his face had assumed that unequivocal character which belongs to the dying.

* * * * * Some violent but short spasms succeeded; after which he sunk into a calm slumber, and a few minutes after twelve literally breathed his last without a groan or struggle. I myself closed his eyes, and, with the help of a surgeon, (whom, in the forlorn hope of some favourable turn taking place, I had got to remain in the house the three last nights) 'composed his decent limbs.' It was necessary that we should do so, since the superstition of the wretched people round us, made them fly the room as soon as a corpse was in it. He was buried in the evening of the next day (Sunday the 18th) in the cemetery of the station, which, that day week, I had consecrated. A wild and dismal place it is as ever Christian laid his bones in, at about a mile's distance from the inhabited part of Dacca, but surrounded by ruins and jungle, and containing several tall ruinous tombs of former residents, in the days when the commerce of this province was the most important in India. Some of these have been very handsome, but all are now dilapidated, and overgrown with ivy and the wild fig-tree. There is, however, a high wall with an old Moorish gateway, which protects the graves effectually from the jackalls; and I have given directions for a plain monument to be erected over my poor friend. His illness—his youth—his amiable manners with the few in Dacca who saw him, and his general character, excited a great sensation



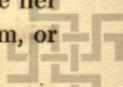
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in the place. Enquiries after him came every day, with presents of fruit and offers of books, which might elucidate his distemper or amuse him ; and he received similar marks of attention and interest, not only from the English residents, but from the nawâb, from the principal zemindar of the neighbourhood, and from the Armenian bishops of Ecmiazin and Jerusalem, whom I met here, engaged in a still larger visitation than my own, of the different Churches of their communion in Persia and India. All the English residents and the officers from the military lines, with a detachment of artillery-men, came unsolicited to the funeral. * * * *

* * * * We were the guests of Mr. Masters, the principal judge, whose nephew you may have known at Baliol ; and from him, more particularly, and from Mr. Mitford, the junior judge, brother to my friend, Mitford of Oriel, we received daily and unwearyed kindness. Mrs. Mitford, on finding that poor Miss Stowe thought of setting off from Dacca to nurse her brother, not only wrote to ask her to their house, but offered to accelerate a journey which Mr. Mitford and she were meditating to Calcutta, in order to take care of her in her dismal homeward voyage.

“ I trust, however, that my letters would arrive in time to stop her ; and lest they should not have done so, I am now diverging from the great stream which is my direct course towards Patna, in order to ascertain whether she has really set out ; and if so, to meet and take her at least the greater part of the way back again. I yet hope, however, to receive a letter from my wife, which will make this unnecessary.

“ Emily entreated, on hearing the first alarm, that in the event of poor Stowe’s death or inability to proceed, I would not refuse her permission to join me at the Rajmahal Hills, and to go with me, at whatever risk, through the rest of the journey ; and I know her so well, that, though there will certainly be some circumstances trying to her strength, I am disposed to believe she would suffer more by not being allowed to follow me ; so that, in about a month’s time, if it pleases God, I may hope to see her and my children. Whether Miss Stowe will accompany them, or



immediately return to England, I know not. Her brother seemed to think she would prefer the former, and I have written to invite her to do so. Yet, alas! what motive has she now for lingering in India.

“ This is the second old and valued friend (poor Sir Christopher Puller was the first, though my intimacy with Stowe was far greater) which this cruel climate has, within a few months, robbed me of. In the meantime, I have great reason for thankfulness that, in all essential points, my own health has remained firm ; that my dear wife (though she has been an invalid) has been so from causes unconnected with climate ; and that my children (since they were taken from the close and pestilential air of Fort William) have been pictures of health and cheerfulness. How long this is to continue, God knows ; and I thank Him that my confidence in His mercy and protection has not yet been shaken. I am far, however, from repenting my coming out to India, where I am sure I am not idle, and hope I am not useless ; though I have, alas ! fallen far short of my own good intentions, and have failed to a greater extent than I expected, in conciliating the

* * * * * But I cannot help feeling most painfully the loss of a sincerely attached, intelligent, and most gentlemanlike friend, to whom, under any difficulties, I could open myself without reserve ; whose cheerful conversation was delightful to me in health, and to whose affectionate solicitude and prayers I looked forward as a sure resource in sorrow or in sickness. God bless you, dear Augustus. Give my most kind love to Lady Jones, and best regards to your brothers.

“ Ever your’s affectionately,

“ REGINALD CALCUTTA.”

The Bishop had received accounts from the South of India, of the intolerant spirit shown by some of the junior missionaries towards the native converts, relative to the distinctions of caste, to which they still clung in their intercourse with the pariah Chris-



tians, and which had caused much uneasiness and discontent among them. During the mild administration of Schwartz, and his immediate successors, these distinctions had been gradually disappearing, and it seemed probable that they would, in time, be entirely forgotten; but the spirit of persecution which had arisen during the last few years, had, as might be expected, produced a very opposite effect, and the barrier of caste was becoming every day stronger and more impassable. The Bishop had reason to believe, not only from the line of conduct pursued by Schwartz (which was in itself almost conclusive evidence of the fact,) but from several circumstances which had come to his knowledge, that the distinctions claimed by the soodras were more of a civil than a religious nature, calculated rather to preserve their rank among their neighbours, than to prove that they considered themselves better than the pariahs; and that, consequently, it was not only impolitic, but unjust to insist upon their abandonment, before the soodras were admitted to the ordinances of the Christian religion, a measure which had, in some instances, been resorted to. But, as he had not been long enough in the country to form an accurate judgement as to the correctness of this opinion, he delayed taking any steps in the business, till he should himself visit the southern provinces, and had obtained all the information on the subject which it was in his power to procure. The following letter will prove that his views were just. Christian David, to whom the different queries were addressed, was himself a native of Tanjore, had been a pupil of Schwartz, and being a man of good natural understanding, was well qualified to give the Bishop all the satisfaction which he desired.

Bishop's College, Aug. 5, 1825.

"MY LORD,

"I have been truly gratified by the very kind and interesting letter of the 26th ultimo, with which your Lordship has been pleased to honour me, and which was immediately for-

warded by the Rev. Principal Mill to Serampoor, where I was at the time, attending my son, who was afflicted with fever and liver complaint. I have shown your Lordship's letter to the Reverend the Principal, and have communicated to him verbally, from my own knowledge and observations, the answers to the several questions put by your Lordship, which, partly by his advice, I now detail as follows.

“ Your Lordship's first question was

“ 1st. Whether the native Christians in the south object to intercourse with the pariahs on any superstitious ground of *caste*, or simply because these last are mostly poor, and belonging to the *meaner* ranks of society?

“ *Observation.*—The two ideas, are in the minds of these people, nearly the same: *i. e.* their idea of rank is only that of *caste*. It is altogether distinct from the consideration of poverty or low circumstances in the world. It is necessary to observe also, that their's is purely a worldly idea; it is not connected in their minds with any notion of true or false religion; nor is there, to my knowledge, any superstition connected with it by the native Christians. Consequently I would answer the question thus.

“ *Answer.*—They object on the ground of *caste*, though not on a superstitious ground, but as being the only rule by which they are accustomed to measure men's rank in society: *i. e.* on the ground of worldly pride, only joined to the worldly fear of degradation in the eyes of their own people, Christians as well as heathens. (The third question will illustrate this.)

“ Q. 2d. Whether they object to sitting in the same Church, or merely to sitting promiscuously in the same part of the Church with them?

“ *Answer.*—Only to sitting promiscuously in the same part of the Church.

“ Q. 3d. Whether, supposing a Christian pariah were by industry and good fortune, to elevate himself above the rank which (according to those remonstrants) they now gene-

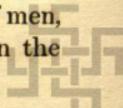


rally hold, of horsekeepers, scavengers, &c., to decent and affluent circumstances, they would still object to associate with him or his children ?

“ *Answer.*—If the person merely became rich, and *so independent* of menial occupations, it would make *no difference* whatever in their judgement of him ; but if, even without becoming rich, he should yet become well-learned in physics, in astronomy, or (such is the present course of their thoughts) in the doctrines of Christianity, he will then be called shastree or pundit, and be respected in that character. They will sit with him and admit him to their circles, even to sharing the betel-nut ; *still they will not eat food* out of the same dish with him, through the *worldly fear or pride above mentioned*. And there are several pariahs who are catechists in our congregations, so situated ; and some of yet lower caste, who are listened to with deference and attention, even by the most prejudiced of the high caste converts.

“ **Q. 4th.** What are the peculiarities, if any, in the conduct and language of those poor pariahs, from which they profess to apprehend pollution and infection to themselves and their children ? Are there among the pariahs any practices, though indifferent in themselves, yet offensive to the persons of the higher caste ? And if so, may they not be induced to abandon them ?

“ *Answer.*—There are certain vulgar, and occasionally, as in jest or anger, certain indecent expressions, from which no son of a pariah, though a Christian, can well escape, except such as receive the learned education above mentioned ; these expressions not being reckoned at all shameful among heathen pariahs, but extremely abominable to all others, heathens as well as Christians. Not only language, though this is a great point, but many practices allowed, and even enjoined by custom on the pariahs in general, make the idea of their society to be feared as a source of contamination, even by the Christian natives of India ; such as their custom of eating animals that have died a natural death ; that of men, women, and children, drinking toddy and arrack together in the



open streets ; and these, though not common among the Christian pariahs, are yet not so completely obliterated, but that they are feared as belonging to the caste, except again in the case of the educated pariahs above mentioned.

“ *Q. 5th.* What was the practice of Mr. Schwartz’s congregation in these respects ?

“ *Answer.*—From the days of Zeigenbald, and downwards, a period of nearly one hundred years, the practice, as I have learned from my predecessors, and as I have myself seen, was as follows : That the native converts should sit at Church in two separate divisions ; those of high respectable caste in one ; the pariahs and those of caste still lower, in the other ; yet in such a manner, that a stranger’s eye would not discover the distinction, but only the missionaries, or those acquainted with the feelings and ways of the native Christians. (To prove this, it is only necessary to observe, that the unconverted natives, Hindoos and Mussulmans, constantly conceive and speak of the Christians, as being all of *one caste*.) They also drink out of the same cup at the Communion, yet in such manner that those of the first division never drink after those of the other ; for this purpose they always go first to the rail : the men and women also separately. The two divisions have a common burial ground ; and in the funeral rites they walk promiscuously, as if with the consciousness, contrary to the heathen notions, that death entirely dissolved these distinctions. The old missionaries, from the venerable Zeigenbald to the present survivors, Drs. Rottler and Cœmerer, the former of Madras, the latter at Tranquebar, and the Rev. Mr. Kholhoff of Tanjore, always lamented those feelings in their converts, which they felt themselves, nevertheless, obliged to consult in the above regulations of precedence in Church and Communion. They made it a constant subject of prayers, both among themselves and with their native preachers and catechists, that these feelings of distinction might become extinct, justifying their own practice in this respect by the accommodating (though undissembling) practice of St. Paul and the other apostles ; and, under this mild system, especially under the most



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venerable Schwartz, the feeling in question, with the practices resulting from it, was visibly losing ground. A change of this mild practice was, for the first time, introduced by Mr. Rheniers, of the Church Missionary Society, and by him recommended to various other missionaries recently arrived, as well of the sectarian denominations, as of those in connexion with our Church, including Mr. Haubroe (not Mr. Falcke) of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These junior missionaries agreed among themselves to make the immediate abolition of every shade of these distinctions an indispensable condition of Christian communion with the existing native converts. And in their mode of conducting this, they not only opposed, in the most marked manner, the senior surviving missionaries above mentioned, but spoke, both from the pulpit and in private, of them and their venerable predecessors, Schwartz, Gericke, Pohle, &c. as having done great mischief to the cause of Christianity. To the native Christians, who hold the memories of these illustrious men in the highest esteem and affectionate veneration, these young men were not content to speak of them as having *permitted* such and such things 'because of the hardness of their hearts,' (which, supposing them right, they ought to have said, after our Lord's example, speaking of Moses,) but denounced them in the offensive manner above mentioned as corrupters of the Gospel. The consequence of this harsh procedure and of the innovations in the translation of the Scriptures, even of the most known and familiar symbols, the Lord's Prayer, Decalogue, &c. of which they obtained fresh translations, greatly disliked by the old converts, (i. e. as we may truly say, by all the native Christians now in being) is the heart-burning of which your Lordship has seen one specimen.

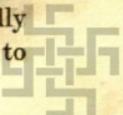
" Q. 6th. Whether Bishop Middleton made any order in the business ?

" *Answer.*—I have heard, though I cannot trust my memory for the particulars, that a contest of this nature in the Vepery congregation, was once submitted to the late Bishop, and that by his Lordship's intercession with both parties, greater forbearance

was obtained, and harmony was, for the time, restored. The Annual Report of the Christian Knowledge Society for 1821 contains, I believe, a letter of Bishop Middleton's, alluding to this subject.

“ Q. 7th. What is, in your conscientious opinion, the best remedy for the difficulty?

“ *Answer.*—I would humbly beg to suggest, as a means which must have a good effect, a word of advice in private only (for the contest with the congregation will not admit of any other,) from your Lordship to the junior missionaries, on the necessity for prudence and tenderness with respect to their flocks ; of unity and co-operation with their missionary brethren of the same communion ; and of reverential esteem for those who have preceded them in this great work with a zeal and success which they cannot pretend to have themselves equalled. I would venture to suggest also a pastoral letter from your Lordship to these converts, enjoining them at the same time to obedience to their pastors, and Christian estimation of all their fellow Christians ; explaining to them from Scripture, the utter opposition of all proud notions of caste to the Gospel ; and intimating the earnest wish of their European instructors to remove this, with as little offence as possible to any of their national feelings or prejudices, without touching any just and proper distinction of rank, education, or degree in society. This would certainly have very great weight with them. And it might, in my humble opinion, be made still more useful to them, if a special address were made to the pariahs and those of lower caste—reminding them that, as Christianity had an evident and proper tendency to elevate them, with respect to themselves and their countrymen, they should carefully abstain from every expression or habit (however supposed essential to their condition in life,) which might have a tendency to excite disgust and dislike in their higher brethren ; reminding them also of that necessary regard and deference which Christianity not only *allows*, but *commands* to be paid to our superiors in knowledge or worldly respectability ; and of the special direction of St. Paul addressed to



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Christian slaves against the contempt of their heathen masters. I should not have presumed to offer these suggestions, my Lord, had not your Lordship so condescendingly invited me to do so. I beg leave to enclose for your Lordship's perusal, the copy of my letter to Dr. Rottler, as it bears on the subject in question, and may throw further light upon the state of things at Vepery.

“ Reserving to another opportunity to express on one or two further points in your Lordship's letter, irrelevant to the preceding enquiries, having already too greatly extended this letter, for which I beg your Lordship's indulgence, I remain with a strong and lasting sense of the great condescension and kindness I have experienced from your Lordship, and with ardent wishes for your continued health and happiness, and long usefulness in the Church,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship's very obedient,

“ and most faithful servant,

“ CHRISTIAN DAVID.”

To the Venerable Archdeacon Barnes.

Monghyr, August 12, 1824.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

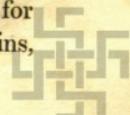
“ I am sincerely sorry for, but can, in some degree, account for the long delay which has occurred in answering your letters. For some time before I left Calcutta (on June 15th) I had been very closely and anxiously occupied, not only in preparing for my visitation and consequent journey, but, more painfully, in attending the sick and dying bed, and assisting to arrange the affairs of my excellent friend the Chief Justice; and, afterwards, in performing the same duties during the dangerous illness of his widow and son. Under these circumstances I was induced to defer answering your letters till I should be fairly removed from the bustle of Calcutta, and able to pay them that undivided and serious attention which was claimed by the very important topics

agitated in them. Even then, however, I did not find the leisure I had hoped for. The long and painful sickness, followed by the death of my poor friend Stowe, who died at Dacca (in whom I lost one whom I had for several years regarded as little less than a younger brother, and whose affairs I had also in a great measure to arrange for his sister's benefit,) made me for several weeks a nurse, and, in some degree, an executor; while, to incapacitate me still more, I was laid up with boils, and received from Calcutta, during my progress hither, an account of the dangerous illness of my eldest child. Under these circumstances, your letter of June the 22d reached me a few days since, after many wanderings; and it is only this day that I have received from Mr. Stacey the letter which you sent to him.

" I will now tell you, in a few words, what I have done, and what I think best to be done on the different points which you mention.

" As soon as I received the necessary documents respecting your return to England, I wrote, officially, to the Board of Control, and privately and more strongly to Mr. Wynn, requesting that your pension might be made payable from the time of your resignation; and repeating my sentiments as to your meritorious and indefatigable exertions, and your consequent claims on whatever favour or patronage it might be in the power of government to extend to you. I also asked Mr. Wynn whether any compensation could be obtained for the expences incurred by you in your visitations; a point on which I had found the Supreme Government of India quite impracticable.

" The commission which you received was sent in consequence of your stating that the one which Bishop Middleton had given you was from himself *personally*, and only enabled you legally to act during *his* episcopacy. The form was, precisely, that which two or three years before his death, he had sent to the archdeacons of Madras and Ceylon. Its purport, as I understood it was not to empower you to *license* the chaplains, but to 'call for and examine the letters of orders, &c. of the ministers, chaplains,



&c. now belonging to, and unlicensed in the archdeaconry, or who may hereafter be appointed, &c.' It authorized you to take the usual oaths, and make the usual subscriptions, and to certify the same to me. No official seal was supposed necessary, and the licensing remained with the Bishop as before.

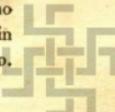
" * * * In consequence of your very able letter on the subject of indorsing licences on change of station, I had desired Mr. Stacey to ascertain what had been the degree of attention paid to this point during Bishop Middleton's episcopacy. His answer was, that, so far as he could learn from the memoranda in Mr. Abbott's office, and the recollections of his clerks, the practice had, of late years, been much neglected, few indorsements having been made except on those licences which had been sent from the other archdeaconries ; and that the arrival of these last had been generally very irregular, and long after the changes had taken place. I confess this long neglect has contributed to indispose me to the revival of a claim against which I find a very strong prejudice existing in the leading members of this government, and to enforce which, in any satisfactory manner, I have little or no power. It is, I think, well worth consideration whether all essential objects are not answered by the notification of all appointments or changes, to the bishop or archdeacon, by government ; and by the practice also (which, I believe, is never departed from) of the chaplain apprizing his ecclesiastical superior of his arrival at his appointed station. So far as the question, in ecclesiastical law, extends, I still conceive that a licence may be of two kinds ; the one local and definite—the other general ; though, of course, this last would not justify a minister in encroaching on the station of another, or officiating where he was, on sufficient cause, prohibited by his ordinary. At present, I find that I have, in Bengal, and I understand that it is the case with you in Bombay (in consequence of the good feeling in which we both of us stand with Government) as much influence as can be desired in the stationing of chaplains. And I therefore conceive that it is not advisable, at present, to revive a claim which, in the first instance, I

was understood to abandon, both by this government and by the authorities at home. The subject, I confess, is one on which I have felt great difficulty; since, without flattery, your arguments were such as might well make me distrust my own opinion. But, at present, my impression remains that endorsement is not necessary, and the licences which are now on their way, will run accordingly¹.

“ Your proposal for establishing diocesan and archidiaconal committees of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, either in union with, or distinct from, the committees of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, I stated, in the first instance, to, I believe, all the different clergy of Calcutta, and, more particularly to our friend the Principal, and to Dr. Parish, the acting secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. No objection was or could be made to its adoption, except that, at this time, owing to some very heavy expenses incurred by this last society, its members have been obliged to use all their exertions to keep it even in a stationary condition. Most of us have augmented our subscriptions greatly; an appeal for fresh aid has been made to all the stations in the archdeaconry, and to every individual subscriber. And I have this moment received an application from the committee, requesting me, in very pressing terms, to give them aid from a fund for charitable purposes, entrusted to me by

¹ “ Bishop Middleton had licensed every chaplain to a particular station, in order to secure to that station all its ecclesiastical advantages, and to compel the permanent residence of the minister. If he was afterwards removed, or succeeded to another station, the bishop indorsed his licence, ‘ removed with our consent,’ and he never allowed a chaplain to be absent from his duty without permission, but in cases of unavoidable necessity. Bishop Heber (if the station had no proper Church) added the term ‘ district’ to that of ‘ station,’ as being of a less restricted nature. The usual indorsement was then also dropped; the local authorities having directed that all applications for leave of absence should be made, in future, through the bishop; who was also made acquainted with every removal and nomination of the chaplains, made by the Government to the different stations. The reasons alleged by him for making the above alteration were, that the chaplains, by being licensed to districts as well as stations, would be at liberty to make parochial visitations, and preach in alternate, or stated Sundays, within the great extent of their appointments, instead of confining their ministrations all the year, to one part only.

“ In one or two instances he also granted licences to one or two native missionaries, who had been ordained, to preach and perform the office of minister within a certain district, and in a particular language.”—*Abbott’s Analysis of the Diocese of Calcutta*, pp. 59, 60. (1828).—En.



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the Parent Society at home ; and to solicit for them, from the same quarter, an annual grant in future. Under such circumstances it was not thought advisable, or, indeed, possible to reduce the limits of subscriptions (which with us is now only thirty-two sicca rupees,) or to urge any other claim at this moment on a public who (as is remarkably the case in Bengal,) are wearied with the numerous calls made on them ; and have, unfortunately, exhibited this weariness in a falling off in almost all the collections made during the present year, for different charitable purposes. All therefore which I could do, before leaving Calcutta, to forward the cause, was to give copies of the Society's reports to the clergy, and the most influential persons among the laity ; explaining to them the extent and value of the services which they had already rendered to the Christian cause in India ; and expressing my hope that, when their missionaries became able to take a more conspicuous part than they had yet done, I should find encouragement to put their proceedings in India on the same footing with other societies.

“ Since the receipt of your letter, it has occurred to me that something more may be done by a collection for it in the Churches throughout the diocese, which, whether much or little were obtained in money would, at least, give publicity to its claims, and keep its connexion with Bishop's College before the notice of these colonies ; while I do not think that it would materially interfere with what we are now doing for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for which I am myself obliged to be an importunate and almost daily beggar. I have written on the subject to Mr. Mill, and expect his answer at Benares. This, however, applies to Bengal only. When I have the pleasure of meeting you at Bombay, should circumstances appear favourable, I know no reason why your archdeaconry should not set a good example to the rest of the diocese ; and I shall be most happy, when on the spot, to sanction and forward any feasible plan for the purpose.

“ I have this moment received, but have not yet had time to read, the papers sent by Mr. Carr respecting the Church Missionary Society. Their committee at Calcutta, on my first arrival, occa-

sioned me some trouble and uneasiness, and I have since had a very vexatious encounter with one of the missionaries. I have had, however, abundant reason to be satisfied with the temper and conduct of their leading men; and in the case to which I have alluded, the whole body showed a readiness to support my authority, in any manner which I might point out to them; while I think I may say that all their public measures have, since my arrival in India, been unreservedly submitted to my opinion and approbation. In consequence, I have not only been happy to remain on good terms with a society of their zeal and influence, but have sedulously kept the peace between them and my friends — — whose alarm had been excited by some occurrences which had, till explained, an appearance of the old Indian laxity of ecclesiastical union. Under such circumstances it is certainly desirable that their missionaries all over India should be under episcopal controul; and you will oblige me by desiring the missionaries in your archdeaconry to appear before you to take the oaths, &c., in order to be licensed in the usual form. As to my becoming president of an auxiliary society there, I, at present, see no objection except *one*; but, to say the truth, the number of societies to which I already contribute, makes me not very anxious to be a subscriber to the same society in two places at once.

“ My plans for my future journey have been, in some measure, deranged by my long delay at Dacea. Still, however, I hope to be at Cawnpoor the beginning of October, and to reach Baroda by the beginning of February. At Cawnpoor, whither I shall be obliged to you to direct to me, I shall be able to speak with greater certainty. My wife and children were forbidden by our medical advisers to accompany me in the journey over land; and it is my present plan that they should meet me at Bombay, whence we may proceed together to the visitation of Ceylon, and, perhaps, Madras, before our return to Calcutta.

“ Calcutta, since I left it, has been dreadfully unhealthy, and they have, I fear, suffered from the climate more seriously than my wife will allow. Except boils, from which I have suffered with



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little intermission, during the last four months, and which have been extremely painful and inconvenient, I have myself been tolerably well. I shall rejoice to hear that you are likely to carry home an unbroken constitution, and that you continue to receive good accounts of your treasures in England.

"The death of poor Stowe enabled me to offer my private chaplaincy to Mr. Hawtayne, whom, however, I shall not desire to meet me at Bombay. I shall not want him; and in the present state of the Churches in Calcutta, his return thither, supposing him to be well enough, is almost a matter of necessity. I have learnt with much pleasure from Mill that his health has been greatly restored. You would hear I am sure with satisfaction of the intended appointments of two bishops to the West Indies. I heartily wish they had been equally liberal to the eastern world. I scarcely know whether you will thank me for it; but when writing to Mr. Wynn, I could not help saying that, if a coadjutor were allowed me, I recommended him to turn his attention to an archdeacon, who, during ten years' residence, had found means to conciliate the good opinion, as far as I could discover, of all parties; and who possessed, more than most men whom he could fix on, a knowledge of India and its clergy.

" Believe me, dear Mr. Archdeacon,

" Ever your faithful friend and servant,

" REGINALD CALCUTTA."

From Dacca the Bishop proceeded northwards; during a short residence at Boglipoor, his attention and interest were strongly excited by the tribes of the Puharrees, who inhabit the Rajmahal hills. In a letter to one of his friends, written at a later period, he remarks, "these tribes are still in the simplest state of savage society, living chiefly by the chase, under a number of petty chiefs, and always making their appearance armed with bows and arrows. They agree in language and countenance with the Bheels, and (I am told) with the Gooands of Berar and of

the valley of the Nerbudda, being a fragment in fact of the same great nation, the earliest inhabitants of India, who have been driven from the plains by more civilized or fiercer tribes. Savages as they are, and thieves almost by necessity, they have, in some instances, much the advantage over the more polished Hindoos; and in the worship of one God, their abhorrence of falsehood, the chastity of their women, their freedom from caste, and the high respect with which they look up to Europeans, they offer, I think, more encouragement to a missionary than any other field for his labours which I have yet seen."

The Bishop was able, a short time afterwards, to realize his idea of placing a missionary among these people. Mr. Christian, who was sent to Bishop's College by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was appointed to this important mission, which he occupied towards the end of the present year.

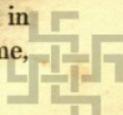
The Rajmahal mountains are, unfortunately, from their extreme unhealthiness, accessible to Europeans for only three months in the year; and, in consequence, Boglipoor, (or Bhaugulpoor) the principal town in the district which includes the range of hills, was fixed upon as Mr. Christian's permanent abode for the remaining nine months. From thence he wrote the following account of the commencement of his undertaking, which, though written the next year, is, to avoid confusion, introduced in this place.

From the Reverend Thomas Christian.

Bhaugulpoor, April 27, 1825.

"MY LORD,

"I beg leave to offer my humble and best thanks for your Lordship's last very kind letter, which I should have answered immediately, had I not been uncertain as to the best place of directing my letter. The delay has afforded me the satisfaction of mentioning that I have commenced the Puharree language, in which the difficulties, though they are many, I trust will, in time,



be surmounted. I am, at present, making a large vocabulary, which, I think, will comprehend all the words in their language, and which, I hope, may be completed in three months. In connecting sentences I have made but little progress; for, after trying for some time, in vain, to come at the proper inflexions of the words, I was obliged to have recourse to writing down familiar sentences, from which I find considerable benefit.

“ Several hill men came to me to offer themselves as domestics; but as they knew nothing of Hindoostanee, and did not appear to comprehend what I wished to express in their own language, they could not be of any service. I have a tolerably intelligent man, at present, in the interpreter of the court, whose assistance Mr. Chalmers kindly offered me; but even he can go but a little way; and not being very punctual in his attendance, the progress I hope I should otherwise make is retarded.

“ I should wish, if it were possible, to go into the hills next December, and am anxious, if I can accomplish it, to carry some portions of the Gospels with me in their own language, written in the Nagree character. I have seen and conversed with some of the chiefs, and mentioned to them my intention of visiting their mountains, with which they seemed well satisfied, and promised me whatever assistance I might require from them. The dialects of these people are numerous, which will make the work of conveying information among them slower; though I should hope that the perfect knowledge of one will be a key to the remainder.

“ I feel grateful at being chosen for this undertaking, which, I trust, under a God who regardeth all His creatures, will be attended with success. Of this, at present, I can only speak in hope; time and perseverance may enable me to do so with certainty.

“ I have now been here three months, where I have received the kindest possible attentions from every individual composing the station. Colonel and Mrs. Francklyn have consulted my comfort in every way they could; in which their example has been followed by Mr. Ward’s family, as well as by all whom I have the

pleasure of knowing here. Your Lordship's (you will pardon my presumption in saying) almost paternal mention of me to Colonel Francklyn, I should imagine has very much contributed to this, for which I beg to offer my sincere thanks.

" I am engaged at present in catechizing two Hindoo boys who are candidates for baptism, to which I mean to admit them when they are a little better instructed. A native Christian, baptised by one of the chaplains, accompanies them, to be benefitted by my instructions at the same time.

" I have the honour to be, with great respect,

" Your Lordship's very humble and grateful servant,

" THOMAS CHRISTIAN.

" I received a letter from Monghyr yesterday, giving me an account of much sickness and many deaths among the invalids. It might seem desirable to your Lordship that I should go there once a month, as the nature of the case might seem to require !."

The promise of success which this mission held out answered all the Bishop's expectations. The Puharrees not only permitted Mr. Christian to instruct their children during the three months he resided in the hills, but, on his representing that they would forget all they had learnt before his return the ensuing year, some of them, among whom was one of their principal chiefs, allowed him to take his pupils back to Boglipoor. These fair prospects continued to increase till December, 1827; when, on his annual visit to the mountains, he was seized with the jungle fever, and though he immediately returned to Boglipoor for medical aid, it was too late; he died on the 16th December, beloved, esteemed, and regretted by all. His wife, who had accompanied

¹ Monghyr is nearly forty miles from Boglipoor, but as there was no resident clergyman there, the Bishop appointed Mr. Christian to go there once every month.—ED.



him, lingered a month under the influence of the same fatal malady, and then followed her husband to the grave. This unfortunate event has, for the present, interrupted the progress of that extensive scheme of missionary labours from which the Bishop had joyfully hoped so much good would accrue to India. No missionary has yet been found capable of filling Mr. Christian's place, for few are endowed with his remarkable talent of conciliating the affections of the natives, and still fewer unite with it that courage, zeal, and discretion, which rendered his life as invaluable as his loss has, hitherto, been irreparable. It is much to be apprehended that the Puharrees will forget the impression thus transiently made; while the tribes who inhabit the Garrow mountains, between Assam and the eastern parts of Bengal, yet remain without an attempt to rescue them from their idolatry. But, in God's good time, even these neglected vineyards will have labourers sent forth to their harvest!

To Charles Lushington, Esq.

Ghazeepoor, August 28th, 1824.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Many thanks for your letter, which I was happy to receive on many accounts, and more than all because I had heard of Mrs. Lushington's and your illness; and I was sincerely anxious to know that you had both got through this troublesome and universal ordeal¹, without worse consequences than the usual amount of nursing and confinement. I trust that the weakness which it appears to have invariably left behind, has been of less

¹ An epidemic fever which raged almost universally in India, during the summer of 1824, and which, with scarcely any exceptions, attacked the whole European population of Calcutta, and occasioned the temporary closing of many of the public offices, and even of the Company's dispensary itself.—ED.



duration with both of you than my wife complains it has been in her case.

“ I overtook your cousin¹ at Monghyr, and hope, though he has made a longer halt at Bankipoor than I could spare time for, he will overtake me again at Ghazeepoor, and that we may possibly arrange our movements in such a manner as not only to proceed together to Cawnpoor, but to march together to Nusseerabad, whither, he seems to think, he is under no necessity of proceeding faster than will allow me time to make the necessary detour of the northern chaplaincies. He is a very agreeable fellow-traveller, and if his health continues firm (which alas! is a proviso never to be omitted in an Indian prophecy,) I feel confident that he will not detract from the reputation of his family.

“ My voyage from Dacca upwards, was, for the first fortnight, sufficiently melancholy; since, besides feeling as I could not but do, for the loss of an amiable and most attached friend, I was myself far from well, and had very uncomfortable accounts of the health of my wife and children. I do not know whether there is more in it than fancy; but I have thought myself essentially better in the comparatively dry and elastic air of Bahar; and at all events, my return to European society has done all the good in the world to my spirits. The Corries I found at Boglipoor, where, on hearing of poor Stowe’s death, they good-naturedly waited for me; his health, I am sorry to say, does not appear to exhibit any essential improvement; had he remained in Calcutta, he would hardly, I think, have weathered the influenza, or whatever is its name, of this last unhealthy season.

“ I enclose an official letter on the subject of an application which I have received from Mr. Parish, of Dacca, which if you think its contents reasonable and likely to be granted, I will thank you to lay before council. The Church was, when I saw it, in a

¹ Mr. James Lushington, son to the Right Hon. Stephen R. Lushington, now (1830) Governor of Madras.—ED.

